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EXTRACTS FROM REPORT ON ENGLISH AND VERNACULAR NEWS PAPERS

401–600

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Extract from the

Report on English and Vernacular Newspapers for the year 1921

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5th March to 21st May 1921

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42. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 15th March, publishes a lecture said to have been delivered by Doctor Varadarajulu Naidu

Doctor Varadarajulu Naidu.

at Tiruppapuliyar on the 13th idem in which the following observations find place among others:- The Englishmen did not hoist their flag in India after warring with the Indians and conquering them, but adopted many devices to gain their end. .. .. .. We allowed the white officials who came to serve us, to enjoy princely pleasure in this country. We were treating them like brethren. We assisted the Englishmen in many wars begun in a spirit of avarice and we served them most obediently. If Indian money and blood had not been spent freely in the German war, the Allied Powers would have been blown to pieces. The Indians also took part in this unjust war and committed a sin thereby. We took all this trouble for the last several years only to safeguard the friendship and kingdom of the Englishmen. But everything proved to be in vain. .. .. .. The shameless moderates sought the reforms and some were granted, which are worse than the municipal rubbish. Those who bowed lowest became Ministers. .. .. .. Sinha, who sold the country, became the Governor of Bihar, ... The Punjab wretches have not been punished. Justice has not been meted out in the case of the Khilafat. Famine and pestilence have not left the country. Thirty-two crores of people are suffering, not having one meal even for diem. .. .. .. The only remedy for curing the serious malady afflicting India is love and not petitioning to the English men or resorting to violence. We will not care for the Government that does not care for us. We will not have the titles they give. We will not take up appointments under them. We will not send our children to Government schools. We will boycott the courts and the cloths coming from England. We will gradually stop the services we were rendering to the English Government. If, even after all this, they do not act according to our wishes, we will not pay the taxes. The agitation for SWARAJ cannot be suppressed. The shots of Dyer cannot destroy it. Martial Law

cannot stand ~~for~~ before it. The prison is the birthplace of SWARAJ and the Andamans the reward of patriots. If the force of the whirlwind that has appeared in India is to abate, India should be given SWARAJ. It is a blind policy to try to suppress the divine non-co-operation movement started by the saintly Gandhi. So let us advance boldly with the flag of 'non-co-operation' crying VANDE MATARAM.

43. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 15th March, Publishes a contribution from a correspondent, arguing that it is the advancement of the country observes:- As soon as a resolution was passed by the Congress in connexion with the labour unions, the Department of the Labour Commissioner, came into existence. The bureaucrats organised this department suddenly under the impression that the Congress people would take the labourers with them and that it would lead to serious danger. We do not think that it was formed for noticing the grievances of the labourers and providing sufficient facilities for them. Though the Labour Commissioner has been trying to settle the matters, whenever there was a strike, no good has come out of ~~th~~ his efforts till now. If our country is to progress, we should start and promote unions among all classes of labourers. If, even after this, the Government do not pay proper attention to the grievances of the labourers, the members of these unions will have to strike work and then the Government will realise the difficulty. Especially if such unions are formed among the Employees of the Railway, the Post, the Telegraph and the Police Departments, it will facilitate our acquisition of SWARAJ.

The labour movement.

Referring to the news that some days back a factory in Belgium was taken over by the labourers, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 15th March, says:- It is not known how the English Ministers who are against allowing Bolshevik principles to spread in Central Asia, tolerate the spread of these principles much in Italy, Germany, Austria, Turkey and other places and to a smaller

extent in England, France, Norway, Sweden and other places. What can be done? As stated in an old English story, will the ocean obey King Canute?

N.C.S.

44. In a note under this heading, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 15th March, refers to the observation said to have been made by Mr. A.J.Pugh at Calcutta that India would fall a prey to foreign countries if the British connexion were withdrawn and remarks:- Even if all people in India want to get rid of the British connexion it will not surely cease. But, if India acquires the capacity to do away with the connexion of the powerful British, which foreign power will venture to invade her? Will it be hard for India to get rid of another race, when she gets rid of the British. So there need be no fear of invasion. Mr. Pugh said that if India continued to be connected with Britain, the former would become prosperous like Americans. What is the advantage India has gained by having been under the administration of the British for 300 years? Does it indicate American prosperity that only 6 per cent of the Indians are literate, that the average age of an Indian is only23 years. that his annual income is only Rs.30., and that he has neither valour nor liberty? Is it American liberty that he cannot have the right of possessing even one revolver? It may be said that Modern facilities of communication like the railway, the post and the telegraph exist now. But are these facilities due to the British Government alone and have they been introduced only for the benefit of the Indians? These are the signs of the times and they would have come to exist whoever might have been the rulers. The only proof of this is that China and Japan, which have also railways, are not ruled by the Englishman.

Is British Connexion necessary?

47. Writing about the non-co-operation movement, the ANDHRA-PATRIKA, of the 15th March, observes in its leader:- .. ..

The Mahatma's service.

Sir Valentine Chirol praised Mr. Gandhi for protecting the country by preventing the Muhammadans from breaking into a revolution with sword in hand, when a critical time arose in the country. Even Mr. Gandhi's enemies have to admit the services rendered by him to the Indians. The movement of non-co-operation is dispelling from the minds of the Indians the idea of dependence. They are gradually growing confidnet that they can depend upon their own strength. They do not now entertain hopes that other countries will pity them nor are they going to waste any more time in making representations of their grievances to the people, of other countries. The Indians are now determined to supply themselves with the cloth that they require by spinning yarn with spinning wheels. When food and raiment are both obtained the idea of dependence will totally disappear. If non-co-operation succeeds, SWARAJ cannot but be attained immediately.. .. .. The western nations will soon see that military strength will not be of much use in the solving of the problems of life. Germany which attempted in the last war to subdue the whole world by her militarism, met with humiliation. Now, in Germany, the leaders are preaching the power of soul force to the people. But we may take it that it is a sign of the new era that even Germany which worshipped brute force, should now recognise the value of non-violence. But it is the strong nations that must necessarily understand that a policy of non-cooperation non-violence should be observed. Countries like England, France Italy and America must put this principle into practice. The League of Nations must be based on this principle. Only then can it prove useful in dispelling from the world the fear for war and in establishing world peace. To achieve this, it is necessary that the movement of Mr. Gandhi must be successful in India . There are already signs of the favourable termination

of the Turkish problem. The Khilafat question cannot but be disposed of soon. This concerns the whole western world. If, by means of the observance of the vow of non-violence, the Khilafat question and the problem of SWARAJ for India are both successfully solved, the world will learn a good lesson from it.

Wrecking the movement.

48. Writing about the counter-propaganda work proposed to be undertaken against 'non-co-operation' by Sir P.Tyagaraya Chetti, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 15th March, remarks:- Repression is being resorted to in the country quite freely. But it is impossible either by means of repression or by means of the said counter-propaganda to wreck the movement. It will only give more impetus to the movement. The desired object will be achieved by tracing out the root causes of the movement and remedying them. The sooner the authorities and the co-operators understand this matter, the better.

Anti-SWARAJ movement.

51. The HITAKARINI, of the 14th March, says that at Ellore an anti-SWARAJ movement was organised by some Christians backed up by abkari contractors. It writes:- People say that the Government will confer titles on these men. Who does not know that when a new movement to promote the well-being of the people comes into existence, it is the nature of the Government to instigate insignificant persons against it and make them Municipal Councillors or District or Taluk Board Members?

The faults of the Indians.

52. Writing about the condition of the Indians in South Africa, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 16th March, observes in its leader:- .. .. .. At the desire of the South African Government, the Indian Government greatly encouraged the emigration of coolies to Natal. The Indians did not go, on their own

accord to South Africa to earn a livelihood. They went there because they were given many hopes. .. .. .. The Indians there cannot engage in trade freely. They cannot acquire property. To add to these, a number of charges are laid at their door. It is said that the Asiatics adopt unfair methods in commercial transactions. .. .. .. All sorts of such unjust and inconsistent allegations are made against them. The white races are also afraid that they cannot stand in competition with the Indians who lead simple lives and whose wants are extremely few. The westerners have multiplied their worldly wants too much are spending much money to satisfy them. They are trying to conquer foreign countries and are grieved, not knowing where to find real happiness. How can such people relish the Indian habits? Not being able to compete with the India, they have been playing many tricks. Their chief aim is to drive away compulsorily the Indians from South Africa. .. .. .. Even though Mr. Robertson said that only tose Indians who wish to be sent back to India should be sent, we do not think that due efforts will be made to ascertain the real wishes of the Indians who are only dependents there. We see how the 'white nations' insult the Indians. Until India attains SWARAJ, it is impossible for Indians to be respected in foreign countries. It is clear that temporary remedies will not be of much permanent value.

N.C.S. 54. Writing in connexion with the efforts that are being made to counteract the non-co-operation movement, the

What is the meaning?

ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 17th March, observes in its leader under this heading:- If we look at the grand efforts which are being made by the Anglo-Indian Press, the new Ministers, and the various Provincial authorities to wreck the non-co-operation movement, and the united note of warning which they are sounding in regard to this matter, it is quite clear that the movement has taken deep roots in the country and that the masses are interested in it....

The nationalists will undoubtedly congratulate the counter-movement, for it has made it clear to all that nothing will be achieved by the adoption of merely a repressive policy. The truth has become manifest that propaganda must be met by propaganda. Mr. Tyagaraya Chetti said to the representative of the MADRAS MAIL that there is no good adopting a policy of repression. The MADRAS MAIL also is of the same opinion. What is the meaning of this? The non-co-operation movement being non-violent, one, cannot be checked by the use of violence. The success of this movement is due to the fact that turth and non-violence are its chief characteristics. Self-sacrifice is the very life of it. The authorities and the nationalists will each of them, put their respective cases before the people. The people will then easily understand the truth. They will boldly express their wishes. What is the duty of the authorities in that case? They must fulfil the wishes of the people at least then. But if they hesitate even then, their real nature will manifest itself. But the wishes of the people will nevertheless be accomplished. In this manner, those who are going to conduct the counter-propaganda will be only facilitating the work of the nationalists and helping the SPEEDY ATTAINMENT OF SWARAJ. We must also note another matter. What is the effect of the non-co-operation movement? Everywhere in the country national schools have been established; instruction in hand-loom industries is being imparted to the people; the vernaculars are gaining greater importance, and everywhere the sound of the spinning wheel is being heard once again. If there is no necessity for relying on foreing nations for food and clothing, the feeling of dependence on others will be gone, and the financial position will be improved. Are the counter-propaganda propagandists going to destroy such favourable results? People are trying to get their disputes settled by the establishment of arbitration courts and they are also directing their efforts to discontinue the habit of drinking spirituous liquors. Arrack shops are disappearing and bidders are not attending the abkari

sales. Should such efforts be checked? Otherwise, what is there to fig-ht against? It is necessary that this matter should be clearly explained. Mr. Ben spoor lecturing in London, said that peace can be resorted in Indian only by the grant of SWARAJ. That being so, nobody who has the welfare of the country at heart will shatter the efforts made for the attainment of SWARAJ. But for 'non-co-operation' would even an attempt at altering the Turkish peace terms have been made? Would the Allies have shown any consideration for Turkey, which they have not shown to Germany? There is not the least doubt that non-co-operation is helping to solve the difficult problems that are starting staring the Muhammdaas in the face. That is why it is necessary for the counter-propagandists to understand that the causes which primarily led to the adoption of 'non-co-operation' must be removed. Charges are now levelled against the vernacular newspapers that they mislead the masses by publishing a number of lines. By such false charges, it is impossible to stem the tide of the national movement.

63. Adversely criticising an article with the marginally-noted title in the MADRAS MAIL of the 17th Instant, the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 21st March, in a leading article, makes the following observations:- Do the Government of India what they may. Let us co-operate with them if they act in accordance with the Principles of Britsh righteousness and non-co-opérate if they act to the contrary. Let us be ready to sacrifice our all for this sake. Let us give up our lives on this behalf. Are they co-operators in the real sense of the term who fear the authorities and curry their favour only with an eye to gain? What gain will accrue to Government by believing in such rogues? Mr. Andrews has written to say that the British Empire will have to face calamities if the British authorities pay any heed to the advice of such autocrats as the Editor of the MADRAS MAIL.

'Act like men'.

As threr are a goodly number of righteous people of Mr. Andrews type among the British, we ardently hope that the British Government as well as the Government of India would steer clear in the right direction.

64. The KANTHIRAVA, of the 22nd March, in the course of an article, makes the following observations:- Ye moderates,

Advice to the moderates.

who are deemed intelligent, beware! Do not deride us in contempt because you get lucre for the present. Do not co-operate with those who leave no stone unturned to land us in perdition. Remember the story of Prithwiraj and Jayachand. A few thousands which you get at present will cost you your very self in the future. The sweet words and pleasures which you enjoy to-day are not the fruits of your intelligence, but are the result of the sweat of our brows. Do not forget that both of us will have to suffer peridiction if the happy Millennium does not dawn upon your Mother India. We are ready to suffer out fate. It is a pleasure to us. But it will be an utter disappointment and grief to you. Let us therefore be united in serving our motherland, and cry together VANDE MATARAM (Hail Mother)!

65. The MITAVADI, of the 14th March, besides protesting against the enhancement of Postal rates, which will

The Indian Budget.

practically be a tax on newspapers, speaks of the 'Reforms' as an expensive feast in which the organisers get a good dinner and the invited guests nothing and observes "We have no faith that this will satisfy the people",

66. Remarking that the hostile attitude taken up by Sir Umar Hayat and Nawab Abdul Majid, two Muhammadan members

The question of cow-slaughter.

of the Council of State, the other day in opposing the resolution

regarding the protection of cows brought forward by Lala Sukhbir Singh as highly improper, inasmuch as even H.M. the Amire and a host of other sinsible Muhammadans were opposed to the slaughter of corws, the SWADESABHIMANI, of the 18th March, in a short note, observes:- There is no knowing why only these two Muhammadan Members of the Council of State should not follow in the wake of the majority of the Muhammadans outside the Council who are anxious to put an end to cow-slaughter and thus avoid wounding the feelings of their Hindu brethren. Besides, this question is not a merely religious one. The slaughter of cows has brought in its train a dearth of milk and ghee, has stood in the way of progressive development of agriculture and is making the country poorer and weaker day by day. From this point of view, any opposition offered to so useful a resolution cannot but be considered as a sign of short-sightedness of those members... When such are some of the disadvantages of cow-slaughter, how are the two Government members justified in holding the queer view that it is necessary and beneficial to kill cows inorder to keep their number within bounds? Is this wishing well of the country? This is very much like satan quoting scriputres for his purpose. Let it be remembered that the cattle are the real wealth of India that any kindness shown to them will, besides adding to the economic prosperity of the country, be an act of merit in the eyes of God Almighty as well.

N.(S. 67. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 22nd March, in the course of a contributed English article under this heading,

The immediate need for SWARAJ.

writes:- ".. .. .. The British rule has made slaves of us. We have been disarmed. We dare not fight like heroes. The modern weapons of destruction are too powerful for us. Even though we are 31 crores of people to one hundred thousand Britishers, they keep us under their relentless thumb. Our freedom is gone. Even our Liberty of speech is gone. Our reformed councils may

cry hoarse. The un-British repressive laws that disgrace the British Indian Statute Book will never be repealed. .. .. .. Sydenham and the Jingoes who have been setting up colour against colour, caste against caste, sect aganst sect and community against community should be prosecuted for sedition and exemplarily punished for their un-British conduct. Till this is done, India should not give her consent to SWARAJ with in the empire. .. 'Awake! Arise! and take no rest till SWARAJ on self respecting lines is attained' is my motto and I am sure that it is the motto of every one of my Indian fellow creatures. .. .. .. We, Indians, have nothing to lose. The British people have everything to lose. They have completely destroyed our hopes. We have become desperate. We are prepared to die. Let the British people, if they are (SIC) , drive us to extremities. If they succeed, we all die and it is better to die that to drudge from morning till sunset for the benefit, not of our wives and children, not of our country, but to make the lives of a few un-British Britishers happy and prosperous. I for one am ready to face any misfortune to set an example to my country and show that it is better to die than to live a life of a- slavish, ignominous dependence."

'The drama of repression.'

68. In the course of an article under the heading 'the drama of repression' published KERALA CHANDRIKA, of the 7th March, one Ahmed Kannu makes the following among other remarks:- .. .. .. Non-co-operation is a divine weapon to liberate Indians from the fat hands of those who squeeze their very life blood. .. .. The efforts of the bureaucracy to dig the grave of this movement have become very undesirable indeed. .. .. .. The impartial world will spit on the attitude of the authorities who without trying to remove the root cause of the n n-co-operative movement, are imposing imprisoning patriotic and religious leaders of the people. No one with any manliness in him will tolerate

the meanness of one race trying to lord it over another. .. .. We thus see instances one after another of the results of the shortsightedness of Anglo-Indians. .. .. .. It would appear that the authorities are trying to make a second Ireland of BHARATA who is weeping over the grievances and su ferings of her peaceful sons. If that be the case, the world will, ere long, witness the English sword stained with thick blood and their history blackened with gloomy chapters. Is Lord Chelmsford whose term of office is drawing to a close, even now smiling in approval of the ef orts of his lieutenants to throw the dear sons of BHARATA into hell, instead of finding out a remedy for the present agitation? 'God is great'.

The light of Trichur on Malabar.

69. The MITAVADI, of the 7th March, says:- "After all the Trichur event have fully vindicated Messrs. Thomas and Hitchcock who had to deal with a similar situation but they met it manfully and averted what could end only in bloodshed and plunder. We hope that their loud-mouthed critics would now desist and feel grateful to them for averting a terrible disaster which Trichur is now labouring under." .. ..

Agrarian unrest in Malabar.

70. The MITAVADI of the 7th March, says:- Let not the Government make the fatal mistake of misreading the signs of the times. Despair must necessarily drive the tenants to the non-co-operation camp. Even now while the Government are hesitating, halting and debating 'whether to be or not to be,' that is the question' the moving finger writes and having writ moves on, driving the tenants nearer and nearer to the non-co-operator's meshes. .. .. .. The Liberal party having corectly read the signs of the times have address ed the warning to the Government. They are helpless to avert the situation that is fast developing because the Government would do little or nothing

to strengthen their position which is also the sheet-anchor of the ship of State. We once again appeal to the Government to intervene before the district is converted into one vast extremist camp.

Khil

73. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 13th March, criticising NEW INDIA, announcement in its issue of the 12th idem of the holding of the Muslim Volunteers Corps' Conference at Erode under the leadership of Mr. Shaukat Ali which it says is dangerous to be held there, as it is very near Calicut remarks that such mischievous idea has suggest itself to NEW INDIA after a long time, and asks why did it not object to the Ulema Conference which is to be held at the same place in which Moulana Abdul Bari, Mr. Shaukat Ali, Mr. Muhammad Ali, etc., wil also participate and appeals to the District Authorities and to the Government of Madras to refrain from supporting such wicked notions calculated to disturb the peace in the name of law.

The mischief of NEW INDIA.

N.C.O.

76. The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, of the 14th March, referring to Mr. Gandhi's notice to non-co-operators published in the YOUNG INDIA asking them to co-operate with the Government in the census operations, remarks that when Mr. Gandhi himself has become a co-operator, his followers and propagandists should not be ashamed to follow the lead shown to them.

Mr. Gandhi and co-operation with Government.

Govt

77. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 14th March, appreciating the nationalist's bold policy in upsetting the titles, education and councils of slavery, and criticising the weak attitude of the cowards who are afraid of the movement of non-co-operation, remarks that India has, after a lapse of a century to find another.

A push for freedom.

The writer points out how the English captured India without shedding a drop of blood, contrasts it with the hard task of shedding blood which the people of India had undertaken in capturing the country and subsequently making it over to the English, and says that at present the non-co-operators desire to adopt a similar course to gain the freedom of India.

Finally, the writer, concurring ~~th~~ in the views of Sir John Seely, an English historian, that national enthusiasm can put an end to British rule in no time, remarks that if we should free ourselves from bondage, and cease to have dealings with the Government, the latter can hardly exist for a single hour.

78. MR. HASAN IMAM'S ACTIVITIES.

The QAUMI REPORT, of the 17th March, Khilafat movement.

Referring to Mr. Hasan Imam's active part taken ~~part~~ in support of the Khilafat the writer asks if Sir Velentine Chirol will sing the same song again that the Shias are opposed to the Khilafat and observes that in the matter of the Khilafat suzerainty Shias, Sunnis, Ahl-i-Hadis and all the rest are one.

THE COMPLETE TURKISH VICTORY.

The writer refers those, who opine that the revision of the Turkish Treaty is not due to non-co-operation movement, to the DAILY TELEGRAPH which says that it was done not because the Turks deserve it but on account of the present state of affairs to which the Agha Khan has also referred.

A REQUEST TO THE SERVANTS OF THE KHILAFAT.

The writer finally observes that it is the duty of the servants of the Khilafat to inform the public that the new peace treaty is the result of their sacrifices and that ~~it is~~ its future progress also depends on the progress of their ~~xxxxxxx~~ non-co-operation movement. Unless the Islamic suzerainty over the Holy places is established if we rejoice at the present success we shall prove ourselves ungrateful to God and the Apostle. Praise the Government for their partial justice, and go on with the non-co-operation movement.

For the week ending 2nd April 1921.

No.14 of 1921.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

M.R. 1. The HINDU, of the 30th March, has the following:-

The Madras Legislative Council.

"It is perhaps, a superfluous task to show up the manner in which the bureaucracy regards the reforms and the extent to which it has assimilated the spirit of responsible Government. Its creed is perfectly simple, reforms or no reforms: It is prepared to allow the Councils to decide ~~provided they decide~~ in the right way; if not, so much the worse for them. It is in Madras, however, that officialdom feels it is in an impregnable position and consequently the cynical arrogance with which it generally receives views that are opposed to its own finds here it smost marked manifestations. It feels, rightly or wrongly, that it has behind it the support of the majority of the Council because that majority is non-Brahman and unlikely to do anything to deprive the FAINEANT ministers of their offices. It is a clever game but one that is apt to over-reach itself, things this setting up of the Ministers, as the Germans were reputed to set up women and children as a living screen in front of the firing-line or as the humane champions of law and order in Ireland carry about 'hostages' in motor lorries conveying soldiers. There are already indications of a reaction and it is conceivable that much of the acerbity that is now rapidly replacing the oleaginous urbanity that characterised the opening proceedings, is due to the fact that it is becoming increasingly difficult to lead the Council by the nose.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.FOREIGN POLITICS.

col.

8. A correspondent of the DESABHAKTAN, of the 21st March, writes:- The wily Europeans in South Africa giving out false hopes that they will come to some definite settlement in respect of the Asiatics paying special consideration for the claims of the latter, appointed a commission for the purpose. It is a world known fact that the whites are adepts in the art of deception. They were imposing on the ever credulous Indians with the name of 'Committees'. In the end, the Indians in South Africa, who were in sweet expectation, were thoroughly disappointed.

The whites in South Africa.

Com

9. The NAVASAKTI, of the 25th March, writes:- In a letter written by Sir Robert Haron to Mr. Krossin he has stated that the Soviets contemplate invading India, that the trade negotiations entered into with them will then become null and void and that they should therefore give up the idea of an invasion.

India and the Bolsheviks.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(c) Jails.

R.A.

20. The KANTHIRAVA, of the 29th March, in a short note, writes:- It is highly to be commended that Government are shortly going to take active steps to abandon the Andaman Islands, which are but a veritable hell on earth. It is not known to what extent the report of the Jail Committee and public opinion have been helpful to bring about such a happy change. Credit is certainly due to colonel Wedgwood who freely expressed his opinion about the miserable lot of the prisoners undergoing punishments in those islands. It is a matter of great satis-

The Andamans.

-faction to learn that along with the abandonment of the Andamans, political as well as other prisoners imprisoned there will be set free. The only thing that will have to be done next is the release of prisoners who had been incriminated elsewhere purely on political grounds. We trust that Government will take this matter also into their consideration at an early date.

(k) General.

24. The TAMIL NADU, of the 13th March, publishes a running comment on this subject by a correspondent, in which he condemns the efforts of the authorities to suppress the non-co-operation movement and observes:- As a result of the trend of the times and of the devilish civilization of the westerners, who are strangers to righteousness and fair-play, injustice prevails all over the country. India, the abiding place of truth and justice, is being harassed by famine, poverty and pestilence, her industries having perished and her prosperity disappeared. Her resources are being exploited by western merchants. England, which made a mint of money by subjecting the people to unjust taxation, ruined the village industries by establishing mills. Mr. Gandhi has now resorted to non-co-operation in view to expel from India brute force, which prefers troops and weapons, and replace it by soul-force. As a result of the western education, which has selfishness for its basis. India has lost her spiritual knowledge and is turning atheistic. Students receiving such an education grow up to be greedy, deceitful, and impotent men, devoid of all sense of honour and patriotism. As western education sows discord in the minds of students, makes them forget their motherland and language and discard their religion and engenders slavish spirit in them, those having it become cowards and traitors to their country. It is impossible for us to attain liberty so long as we take to Western ways. If we do not acquire SWARAJ by means of agitation, our sense, wealth and character will gradually disappear, leading

Non-co-operation.

to the ruin of the~~e~~ country. The relieve the misery of mother India, we should, with a sense of self-respect, patriotism and sacrifice, go to the villages and establish panchayats there without the aid of Government and thereby raise walls of gold for the edifice of SWARAJ.

Remarking that the MADRAS MAIL has now hoisted its flag against non-co-operation, that the Ministers and the leader of the party now in power in the new Government are rallying round this flag and that these are reported to be devising an anti-non-co-operation propaganda, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 18th March, says:- It is usual for Anglo-Indian papers to follow the trend of the Government and the MADRAS MAIL Perhaps follows the same policy now. There is a general rule prohibiting Government servants from taking part in politics and this rule binds all of them, high and low. The higher officials have, however, been violating this rule for some time past and the subordinate officials also have now been permitted to break it. The Government of the United Provinces have issued an order permitting its subordinates to carry on propaganda work against non-co-operation. Thus the Government may be said to have started political warfare now. Perhaps the binding nature of a rule depends on the will of the Government. This will be tolerated only in India. We are immensely glad of this anti-non-co-operation propaganda, as the non-co-operation movement will then progress faster without much exertion on the part of the non-co-operators. One of the Ministers in Madras stated that he proposed to go on tour in the villages with a view to speak against non-co-operation. It is not known whether he will do so at that State expense or at his own expense. Further, the same Minister remarked that the vernacular newspapers were spreading many false stories in support on non-co-operation. ~~Whe~~ We are at a loss to know wherefrom he obtained this information or what vernacular papers he reads. It is our impression that he is ignorant of Tamil and the Andhra newspapers do not seem to have published ~~by~~ any false news. So we condemn his baseless statements.

The Desabhaktan, of the 18th March, published a communication from a correspondent which contains the following observations among others:- In a country which rules over another paying undue consideration to her own interests, it is but natural to find many defects and flaws, because the interests of the rulerwillbe causing hardship to the ruled. The British have to rule over India in such a difficult situation. If, in the course of the administration, any events occur prejudicial to the interest of the public, the latter will ~~be say~~ begin to condemn the same unanimously. In view to combat this difficulty, the Government have deemed it expedient to adopt the 'divide and rule' policy. The caste system in India is very helpful to them in pursuing this policy. Foreign education and civilisation have caused a further split between the educated and the uneducated. The greater the differences in the country, the greater is the advantage to the rulers. When the suggestion to hand over the administration into our own hands was not accepted by the rulers who said that they were putting us in the way by granting these reforms, we had to resort to non-co-operation. To stifle this movement the Government should do one thing and that is the righting of the Khilafat wrong, the punishing of the author of the Punjab tragedy and the grant of SWARAJ to India. If the Government should take to any other course, it will lead to serious consequences.

The HITAKARINI, of the 21st March , writes:- When some great men of the west speak in terms of praise about the non-co-operation movement, how can it not be dear to the Indians who have a thirst for freedom. There is no reason why it should be disliked by a Government whose goal is the happiness of the ruled. The movement which is based on the soul force will only protect the Government and reform it. Just as the God of Death appears frightful to sinners, so also this movement, perhaps, appears as a big ghost to the MAIL and the Maharaja of Kolhaput. The MAIL recommends the enforcement of repressive

the enforcement of repressive measures. This cannot make a righteous Government move, but may prove harmful to the paper itself. We believe that the Government will not interfere with the movement so long as it does not disturb the peace of the Country. Does not the Government know that repression paves the way for the breach of law and generates unrest in the country.

SWARAJ.

26. In a leader under this heading, the NAVASAKTI, of the 18th March, writes:-

The Punjab massacre and the Khilafat wrong are the two goading weapons that brought about the non-co-operation resolution at the Nagpur Congress. We say that, if even these two righted, the movement should not be given up. The Indians are aware of the fact that, even after the perpetration of the Punjab massacre, the bureaucrats have been resorting to repressive measures. The opening of fire and the arrest of leaders are still continuing. There will be no end of repression in this country as long as the rule of the bureaucracy continues. Why should be found out for putting an end to the recorrence of such incidents as the Punjab massacre The fact that Sir William Vincent expressed his regret when Mr. Dwarakadoss brought forward the resolution in the Punjab massacre in the Legislative Assembly, and that, in the Conference held in London, the Allies have decided to reconsider the Turkish peace terms and to grant some benefits to Turkey should not make us relax our attempts for acquiring SWARAJ. It is not edifying to the patriots to get elated at some pseudo benefits being conferred by the bureaucrats after they have wounded the feelings of our people by various actions. It is certain that complete liberty cannot be attained by the reforms that have now been granted. Are we to get liberty out of the reforms which show an excess of expenditure over the revenue? Can we hope to get liberty from the diarchy which consists of Ministers who have no fiscal responsibility? Is liberty to be had of

Swaraj:

a system of administration which attempts to put down the non-co-operation movement which is entirely harmless? The bureaucrats are not going to reduce the military and other unnecessary items of expenditure despite the cry raised by any member of the Council or the attitude taken by any Minister. Until these are curtailed, the progress of the country cannot be thought of. Instead of co-operating with such bureaucratic administration, it is better to stand on the side of righteousness and adopting non-co-operation acquire SWARAJ.

Referring to the proposal of Mr. Pal that Indians should issue currency notes in the name of and/on behalf of the Congress in order that India may attain SWARAJ, the SAMPAD ABHUDAYA, of the 1st April, in a short note, writes:- In other words what Mr. Pal and Mr. Gandhi say is that if the Government do not agree to become democratic the Congress should convert itself into a republic and take into its hands all civil and military power, collect taxes and issue bonds and currency notes of its own. If this be done, however, it will be difficult for the non-co-operation movement to maintain non-violence as its basic principle. All the same, many Indians are of opinion that if such a step is taken, the British Government will become democratic and will do all in their power to make the welfare of the Indians and of the British interdependent.

I.D.

29. Remarking that the difference between the proceedings of the Central Government and those of the Provincial Governments demonstrates clearly that the system of the diarchy introduced in the Provinces is useless, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 19th March, writes:- If the members of the Government of India want the assembly to decide any matter as they like, they have no other alternative than to put the members of the assembly on the back and seucre their support. If, in spite of the efforts of the Government members to gain the support of

The evils of diarchy.

the members of the assembly, the latter vote for the reduction of expenditure on any item, the Governor-General may exercise his special power and sanction the original allotment. As the exercise of this power in ordinary times would be against the principles of democracy and would lead to a hue and cry, the Central Government would prefer to reduce the expenditure as decided by the Assembly. Thus the Government have to yield to the wishes of the members of the assembly in the case of the Central Government. But this difficulty does not exist in the case of the Provincial Governments, where, if the Government win over the ministers to their side, the majority of the Legislative Council will come to stand by the Government. As the Ministers will be under a sense of obligation to the Governor, who nominated them, and as the Governor will follow the policy of the members of the Executive Council, there is sufficient reason for the Ministers being led by the latter, which means that the members of the Legislative Council who support the ~~latter, which means that the members of the Legislative Council who support these~~ Ministers will also approve of the actions of the members of the Executive Council. So the people will have no power as a result of some departments having been transferred to the Ministers, and it will be tantamount to some more Indians having been made members of the Executive Council. Considering the attitude of the Ministers, it looks as if they are gradually getting under the control of the members of the Executive Council.

R.A.

30. Remarking that repressive measures are being resorted to in consequence of the growth of the non-co-operation movement,

Repressive measures.

that cases in this connexion are, under some pretext or other, brought within the scope of the Criminal Procedure Code and that, at the instance of the Government, the District authorities are making it appear that attempts are being made here

and there to create disturbances ~~and appear that attempts are being made here and there to create disturbances~~ and that emergencies have arisen for the adoption of repressive measures to quell them, the VAISYAMITRAN, of the 28th Febraury, observes:- The public are well aware of the fact that the bureaucrats have long been accustomed to interpret the actions of those not inclined to follow their ways as being disloyal. The bureaucrats also, though conscious that the policy adopted by them till now has failed to establish peace in the country, think that they can, by the exercise of their power, make the people conform to their views. As the public are prevented from freely giving out their views, the latter smoulder in secret and lead to serious consequences in the course of time. As the true spirit of non-co-operation is getting established firmer and firmer in the minds of the people, repression will lose its efficacy very soon and help the Indians to acquire spiritual knowledge and become martyrs. We can see repression based on physical force making impotent attacks on the soul-force. It is only then foreigners can appreciate the real greatness of the Indians. The rulers in India are under the impression that they can prolong their time and fulfil their wishes by resorting to the 'divide and rule' policy. But as the cycle of time is revolving very fast carrying India too with it, it will drift even those among the Indians who may lag behind under an illusion.

31. The TAMIL NADU? of the 20th March, writes:- Governors of other provinces have also begun to follow the grand policy of repression started by Lord Sinha, who is born to ruin his own race. In some provinces, orders have been issued requiring the Indian subordinate officials to smash the non-co-operation movement. Some Government officials have been dismissed from service for the fault of having sent their children to national schools started by non-co-operators. A clerk in the post office

The duty of Indian Official.

at Ambala lost his appointment for the heinous sin of wearing Gandhi cap and KHADDAR cloth. Indian officials should learn from these that, even in their private affairs, they have no liberty to act as they like and they are treated only as slaves by the white officers. Perhaps it is the impression of the latter that Indian officials are devoid of patriotism and the wish for the progress of their country. These officials have understood the severities of the Government much better than the public. They are convinced that the public and themselves will be benefited by the non-co-operation movement. So in the event of these officials being asked by the authorities to condemn this movement, they should unanimously intimate to the authorities that it forms no part of their duty and that they have not yet been reduced to the position of hirelings. Further, for some time past, the officials in the Madras Presidency have by their indifference been losing their important rights. In no other country than India is the rule prohibiting Government servants from attending political meetings or from subscribing for political funds in vogue. It is highly regrettable that the Indians officials should be indifferent in regard to these two important privileges. Here-after at least, every Indian official should regard it as his primary duty in accordance with the request of the Congress to work with the same agreement as they do in the matter of securing increase of salaries and attend every political meeting contributing his mite, at the same time, towards such funds. If all should act together in the matter of using the cloth woven in the country and of sending their children to national schools instead of to Government Schools, the authorities cannot afford to dismiss all these from service.

32. Boycott of the Governor of Madras. Referring with appreciation to the resolution of the Municipal Council of Salem not to present an address of welcome to His Excellency, the Governor during his visit to

SALAM the TAMIL NADU, of the 20th March, observes:- It would have been well if this resolution had been passed in accordance with the resolution of the Congress. The Muhammadan Educational Association of Salem has also intimated to the Collector that, in view of the Khilafat injustice and the hardships caused by the Government ~~of Mx~~ to Mr. Yakub Hasan and other leaders, it is not possible to present an address of welcome to the Governor. According to the request made by Mr. Varadarajulu Nayudu and others, we hope that the public will not participate in the functions connected with the reception of the Governor. We trust that the municipalities and other public bodies in other towns proposed to be visited by the Governor will similarly decline to welcome him.

The moderates and the disturbance in Trichur.

37. Remarking that the SERVANT OF INDIA stated that the disturbance in Trichur was the result of the non-co-operation movement, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 21st March, observes:- When the matter regarding the disturbances at Trichur is <u>sub judice</u>, the Government are lawfully bound to admonish those who irresponsibly attribute this disturbance to non-co-operators. But the paper making this observation is a 'moderate' one and the subject matter is a criticism against non-co-operation. Our bureaucrats will not be bold enough to oppose this statement. If a party should come forward to put an end to a harmless movement by spreading unjust scandals about it, will the Almighty also favour such a party even if the Government should?

The anti-non-co-operation propaganda.

39. Remarking that the cry of those, who want an anti-co-operation propaganda to be started, is gaining in pitch every day, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 19th March, reiterates the view that the speeches and writings of some people against non-co-operation only serve to advertise the movement throughout the world and observes:- The main aim of the non-co-operation

movement is to acquire SWARAJ for India. Are the anti-non-co-operators going to object to this? If they do so, the people will doubtless laugh at them. The Public are well aware that the absence of SWARAJ is the cause of all ills in the country. Our enemies are perhaps going to lecture the on the evils of SWARAJ, to the people, who are suffering innumerable hardships on account of its absence! We remind these propagandists of what happened recently in England to those who started to spread the principles of the League of Nations among the people. We would ask these to note that their attempt to suppress the thirst of crores of people for SWARAJ by means of repression and Propaganda is only like trying to hide the sun with the hands.

The TAMIL NADU, of the 20th March, also refers to the officials, (the moderates and the JUSTICE party being bent on rooting out the non-co-operation movement and says:- It is clear that those who are against the movement, have not understood the principle of the resolution passed by the Congress. The basic view of the Congress is that we should boycott the British Government gradually and that we should manage ourselves the departments in which we boycott the Government.) The Congress has now decided that the people should undertake the management of departments like Education, Law and Industries. If the people boycott the Government completely in the case of these departments, like Police and the Military. If our friends bestow some thought on the patient and undaunted manner in which the Congress propagandists have been putting up with the high-handed acts of the authorities throughout the country for the last two months, they will dispel from their minds the wrong impression that the administration of the country as directed by the Congress will lead to unrest and disturbance. Further as soon as the Police and the Military under the British Government give up their posts, as dictated by Congress ~~will lead to unrest and disturbance. Further as soon as the Police and the Military under the British Government~~) they will doubtless to the same work and guard the

country under the administration of the Congress. The Present servants of the British Government will then become the servants of Indian Nation and discharge their duties more enthusiastically than they do now. So we do not see how anarchy will result in our country on account of our restoring to non-co-operation. We should not set foot in Government schools and offices. If we bring these two branches of the administration under the direction of the Congress, other branches will doubtless come under that control very soon and we would then have acquired complete SWARAJ.

Remarking that the fact that though the Government of India declared grandly some months back that they expect the non-co-operation movement to die of its own accord without the necessity of their resorting to repression the authorities are adopting repressive measures throughout the country now, are helping with grants many papers that preach agains-t non-co-operation and have let loose a big army for carrying on an anti-non-co-operation propaganda, as if that done by the Publicity Bureau is not enough clearly proves that the non-co-operation movement is developing gradually the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 21st March, refers specially to the communique of the Government of India justifying their order permitting Government servants to engage in propaganda work on their behalf and observes:- Will the Government, who are anxious to grant freedom to those officials who wish to get rid of the non-co-operation movement, give free permission to the Indian officials who feel that the proper course is to grant immediately SWARAJ and other privileges which this movement aims at securing for the country and that peace will be restored only by such action, to express their opinion and spread the same? If this permission is granted it may bring to light on which side the majority of the officials stand. Instead of this, the Government say that an official should not only be free to carry on an anti-propaganda but it also bound to do it. We cannot understand how an official who

is bound to do a particular work can be described as having the liberty to do it. Like frogs, which easily repeat the sound made by one frog during night, all officials will, hereafter vie with each other in carrying on this anti-propaganda and their merits will be judged on their doing this work. As they have to turn their attention to this subject, they will not be able to devote the same attention as they do now to their legitimate duties with the result that an assistant will have to be appointed to every official and the cost of the administration increased. It is perhaps on account of the objection raised to the work of the Publicity Bureaus in some of the provinces by the Legislative Council and the inability of the officials to actively support the work done by these bureaus, that the Government of India have decided to transfer the whole work to the local officials. As if this will not do, the Government in Bihar have ruled that the heads of local bodies, like municipalities and district boards, should prohibit their servants attending non-co-operation, meetings. This shows that the Government are against the presidents and members of these bodies and will be thus perfecting the work of non-co-operation. The resolution passed in the Punjab Legislative Council suggesting the holding of a conference of the Members of the Executive Councils, Ministers, Members of the Legislative Councils and leading non-co-operators to consider about how to relieve the present tension and the fact that the officials voted for it show that the authorities have come to realise the need for appeasing the people. But there is no indication of any relaxation in the rigour of the Government of India, who seem to feel sure to victory as a result of their anti-Propaganda. As we are, however, of opinion that the propaganda of the Officials will only strengthen that of the nationalists, we are not very anxious of the step now taken by the Government of India.

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 23rd March, refers to the movement started in Tinnevelly by Messrs. Shanmugam Pillai and

Somasundaram Pillai, M.L.Cs., to obstruct the non-co-operation movement and observes:- We wish that these two Pillais, who follow the wake of the non-Brahman leader Sir P. Tyagaraya Chettiyar and the Ministers of his party, get the post of Ministers at the next election or even earlier. They should at least get the title of "Diwan Bahadur" before the next birthday of the King Emperor.

In a leader advocating the anti-non-co-operation propaganda, the HINDU NESAN, of the 23rd March, writes:- We should impede the activity of the non-co-operation propagandists and make then take to co-operation. The misrepresentations made by them should be exposed and the privileges now conferred on the people as a result of the reforms made known to them clearly.

40. The way to kill non-co-operation. In the course of a leader under this heading, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 23rd March, suggests the following as the only methods which will kill non-co-operation:- The Parliaments in England and the Government of India should sincerely repent for the atrocities committed by Dyer and others in the Punjab and for the hardships imposed on the people in Rai Bariely and on the labourers in Calcutta and Madras, and not only express their repentance to us openly but should also hand over to us the officials, who committed these atrocities, for being tried by Indian Magistrates. It is only then that the ever-present wound in the hearts of the Indians will be healed. Secondly Mesapotamia, Syria and other places, which England and France have captured under the pretext of mandates, should be granted the right of self-government and handed over to Turkey, Smyrna, Thrace and Constantinople should also be immediately transferred to Turkey. Unless these things are done heartily, peace cannot be restored among the Hindus or the Muhammadans. Complete SWARAJ should be granted to India and Collectors and other "Indian" officials made to realise that they are the servants and not

the masters of the people. As a sequal to this, the present Legislative Councils to come into being as a result of extending the franchise to all Indians. If these things are done, the Indians will gladly remain in the Empire established by England and the colonies and strengthen it. But if, instead of this, meetings are held and pamphlets distributed, leaders and other patriots are imprisoned or gagged or bombs are thrown on meetings or other repressive measures adopted, it will only help to strengthen the non-co-operation movement and not suppress it.

Military reconstruction.

41. Writing in connexion with the report of the sub-committee appointed to inquire into the advisability of adopting, the recommendations of the Esher Committee, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 22nd March, observes in its leader under this heading:- It is becoming clear day after day that India cannot develop, unless she gains control over the army and the navy. Every year, the major portion of India's revenues is spent on the army. As the reform Act has not granted powers to determine the military expenditure. It is clear that things will not be set right unless complete self-government is gained at an early date. Already India's expenditure is unbearably heavy, and if the Esher Committee's report is adopted, the burden will be increased still further. Some of those recommendations are already coming into force. .. .. .. According to the report, the Indian Army must be taken to be a part and parcel of the British Imperial Force, and the military appliances in India must be developed so as to suit Imperial needs. From this, one can see that India has to bear the responsibilities of the British Empire, though she possesses none of the correspon-ding rights. Under such conditions, there is no doubt that the military expenditure will grow more heavy. The sub-Committee said that the Indian Army should be employed for purposes of defence and for amintaining internal peace. It further said, that except in the matter of protecting the country, India's

responsibilities ought not to be heavier than those of the colonies. No good purpose can be served by this suggestion. When India and the colonies are both granted equal responsibilities. The sub-committee ought to have made it clear that, so long as self-government is not granted, it is not right to employ the Indian army for purposes other than that of protecting the country. .. .. .. Another suggestion is that the Indian army can be employed on garrison duty whenever a critical situation arose. These provisos only make the rules less effective. Who is to determine whether a particular situation is critical or not? If the authority to determine that is at least vested in the people's representatives, it may be somewhat better. The moment the Military authorities declare a situation to be critical, the Governor-General will ordinarily give his consent. .. .. .. The sub-committee also recommended the appointment of an Inquiry Committee with sufficient number of officials on it to suggest the best method of fulfilling India's wishes and of giving commissions in the army to the Indians. It made recommendations as regards a number of other matters. The idea of appointing such an inquiry Committee is, no doubt, good, but we have learned from experience that more loss than gain results from such committees. It remains to be seen how far the suggestions of the sub-committee will be carried out.

42. Referring to the dual system of Government, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 23rd March, observes in its leader:-

The dual Government.

The departments requiring the largest amount of expenditure have been transferred departments. What is the duty of the Ministers under such circumstances? They must try to get sufficient number of of non-eeofficials on it to suggest the best method of fulfilling India's wishes and of giving commissions in the army to the Indians. It made recommendations as regards

~~as regards a number of other matters. The idea of appointing such an Inquiry Committee is, no doubt, good, but we have learned from experience that more loss than gain results from such committees. It remains to be seen how far the suggestions of the sub-committee will be carried out.~~

FUNDS for the departments which are most necessary to the people by inducing the Governor and the other members in charge of the reserve subject to accept their proposals. Otherwise there will not be any chance for the amelioration of the people.. .. .. How has this method (of ~~preparing one budget for all the departments~~) worked in the Madras Provinces? The Ministers have not been able to get enough money for important departments like those of education, agriculture, industries, and Health. Even though the Ministers have not been able to bring round those in charge of the reserved subjects, it looks as if the latter have been able to win the Ministers. From the resolutions proposed by the Members of the Legislative Council, one can see what an amount of unnecessary expenditure was provided for in the budget. Both the departments, reserved and transferred, ought to have removed a large portion of this expenditure from the budget before its introduction in the Council. .. .. When once the budget is introduced, there cannot be much use in the members trying to curtail the items by the vote of the majority. If the items relating to the reserved subjects are curtailed, the Governor has got powers to restore them. Inasmuch as sufficient money is not granted to the transferred departments, there will not be much possiblity of reducing any expenditure relating to them. .. .. .. The powers of the Legislative Council to effect changes favourable to the people, are very little. Whichever side they turn, they meet with impediments. .. .. .. Where does the defect lies? It is in the system of the dual Government itself. However clever the Ministers may be, their intelligence will be of little avial. That is why

the system must be condemned, more than the individuals, concerned, complete self-government alone can fulfil the wishes of the people. When things are like this in provinces where the seeds of self-government are supposed to be found, we need not say how they are at the seat of the Government of India. 'Lump allotments' are put to vote in the Provincials Councils, as in the Delhi council and the members do not know why and for what purpose they are required. Thus it is not possible for the members of the council to use their discretion in voting upon these 'Lump allotments' .. .. .. While the subordinate officials are clamouring for increased pay, the salaries and the higher allowances of the higher officers have been increased. .. .. .. Why should low estimates of expenditure not be made at the time of the preparation of the budget? If that be done, it would be possible to allot more money for necessary items, People wish to know whether the Ministers suggested such retrenchment to the members of the Executive Council at the time of the preparation of the budget. .. .. .. The Members clearly showed their dissent with regard to the grant relating to the transfer of the Russelkonda saw mills to Messrs. Parry & Co. by the forest Department. There are any number of such useless items of expenditure. The most useful items such as those relating to irrigation are set aside. Money cannot be forthcoming for purposes of irrigation, so long as unnecessary expenditure is not curtailed. .. .. .. The resolution about the reduction of the Ministers' salaries was also defeated. The ministers have lost their opportunity of setting a good example to others. There seems to be no possibility at all for the people to learn lessons in self-government, under the dual system of Government. .. .. The New Reforms clearly show that there is no chance for the country to prosper except by the attainment of SWARAJ.

The burden of expenditure.

44. Writing about the defeat of the resolutions with regard to the reduction of the Ministers' salaries in the Madras Legislative Council the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 24th March, observes in its leader:- Even though the present members of the Legislative Counci show extreme softness in the matter of protecting the rights of the people they act like very brave men in obtaining conforts for themselves. What more can be expected of a legislative council which does not represent the people? The Members of the Legislative Assembly fought hard and obtained, like the members of the Council of State, the title of the 'Honourable' and daily allowance of Rs.20 and a reserved first-class 'carriage' .. .. .. When the Ministers who ought to set an example to others, press for equal pay with the members of the executive council, how can it be possible to ask for a reduction of the salaries of other officials? It is anomalous to say that an Indian requires to be paid more than Rs.3,000 a month from the people's money. Has a Legislative Council which resolves to pay a Minister Rs.64,000 per year, any right to be called people's representative Council? Hitherto the number of the white officers alone was large. As a result of the Reforms, the number of 'black officers' has also increased. If the Ministers had proclaimed in the very beginning that they would accept lower salaries how very honourable it would have been? The respectability of the Ministers depends upon the service that they render to the people rather than upon the amount of their pay. Instead of feeling humiliated at the defeat of the resolution for the reduction of the salaries of the Ministers, the members received it with applause. In another such matter which came before the Council, the members were stubborn in safe-guarding their own interests. .. .. Nothing appreciable appears to have been gained by means of the Reforms. The burden of expenditure has, however, grown very heavy.

46. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 25th March, writing about the Khilafat problem and the non-co-operation movement,

The same old story.

observes:- England has not understood the importance of the Khilafat problem yet. Even though some of the English papers in order to satisfy the Indians, say that the Turkish peace terms are being changed there seems to be nothing done practically. It is regrettable that the London Times despises the speech of Mr. Hasan Imam, instead of adivsing England to discharge her duty. The way in which the LONDON TIMES wrote slighting the pledges made by the Ministers, is detrimental to England's honour. Believing the words of the Prime-Minister as gospel truth, the Muhammadans co-operated with the English during the late war. It is because of the indulgence in such comments so soon after the need for such co-operation was over, that the Muhammadan world feels so much dissatisfied. The writings of the LONDON TIMES will only accentuate the dissatisfaction, rather than bring it down. .. It is clear that the Government Members in the Legislative Assembly are still harping on the same string without trying to remove the root causes of the discontent. The principles enunciated are no doubt sound, but they are not translated into action. Are they really meeting propaganda by propaganda alone? Whereever you see repression is set against Propaganda. We need not be joyful because repressive laws are not enforced for this purpose. Section 107 of the Criminal Procedure Code is made use of to muzzle the mouths of the propagandists, while section 144 is used for the purpose of preventing the holding of meetings. .. .. .. Under these circumstances, can we say that propaganda is met by propaganda alone. .. .. .. It was owing to Sir William Vincent's stubbornness that the Rowlatt Act was enacted. It is a matter of history how he despised with a bureaucratic air the popular opinion and the opinion of the members of the Legislative Council. It was the enactment of the Rowlatt act that was the cause of the severe unrest which prevailed in the country,

Subsequently.

subsequently. That being so, it is no doubt, a matter for congratulation that Sir William Vincent should have changed his old ideas; but what that change is, we are not able to discern.

Cd 47. Referring to the position of the Indians in East Africa and Uganda, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 26th March, observes

Indians in East Africa.

in a note:- .. .. .. The Indians are useful only for doing menial service in any country. They must not rise higher in status. They should not acquire property nor should they have any political rights. To all outward purposes, India is a member of the League of Nations and can send a representative to the Imperial Conference. There is enough of the show. But in fact the position of the Indians in foreign countries is worse than ever. How can the Indian who is not respected in his own country, hope t to be shown any respect in foreign lands? The Europeans cannot get on without the service of the Indian coolies. It is the Indians that won, for the British, the German East African The Indian cultivators are required to make those lands fertile. That was why that Government asked the Government of India to to send men from this country .. .. .. Whatever may be the nature of the Press communiques that are issued, the fact remains that the sad condition of the Indians in foreign lands is unchanged. Enough with the troubles that they have had already. India can maintain her sons. If the Indians, instead of going to foreign countries and meeting with greater humiliation, remain in their own country and work for the speedy attainmente of SWARAJ, they will be respected equally with the foreigners. Only then will India's membership in the League of Nations have any meaning.

49. Referring to the policy of repression, the BALABHARATI, of the 18th Febraury, remarks:-

Repression.

The Government must either see their mistakes and correct them or must newly build a prison-house to hold the 33 crores of people. The Prison life is not worse than the present dependant state of the Indians. There can be no better illustration to prove that freedom comes prison, than the history of DEVAKI and VASUDEVA (the parents of Stree Krishna who was born in the prison-house in which they were confined). What the Indians need at the present moment is courage., firmness, and righteous course of action.

50. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 30th March, in a short English note under this heading, writes:-"The Punjab Legislative

A Round Table Conference

Council's motion urging an All-India Round Table Conference representing officials and non-officials with the object of discovering the bais_s of a political ENTETE appears to us to be a step right direction. The remarkable feature of the motion was the unanimity with which it was supported even by the officials. The resolution, we suppose, will be forwarded to the Government of India, and its final disposal will be left to Lord Reading, It is a suggestion the new Viceroy may well find it expedient to adopt."

53. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 29th March, in an English article under this heading, observes:- "The MADRAS MAIL

The anti-non-co-operation movement.

has been giving a lead to this movement. Officers of Government have been mobilised for the work. Members of the Legislative Council are exhorted to counteract this.

"There are people who ask whether the non-co-operation movement is a missionary movement and whether it is wanton wickedness and whether there is no useful lesson to be learnt from it

for the betterment of the people of India. They ask whether the British Government in India adopted economic, political and socio-religious policies which England herself would have welcomed at the hands of a foreign power. They say that if India had maintained her own national consciousness, her condition would have been one of subjection, not only political but also intellectual and economic. Many think that the anti-non-co-operation movement will widen the gulf between India and England. Mr. Gandhi's name will be forever remembered for having raised India from the stupor of decades and even centuries in the matter of relying on herself for her prosperity or deliverance. Whatever may happen to Mr. Gandhi, the tide of Gandhian spirit will go on gathering strength till it obtains proportions too powerful even for the British Empire to stem it. Gandhi may be shot dead or he may be deported. His death and deportation will lead to his apotheorsis He will become a Patron Saint of India. He will be worshipped as an 'avatar' or incarnation of God Himself. The suggestion made by O'Dwyer as well as that made by Colonel Yates will not frighten him. It will simply stiffen his resolution to do everything in his power to attain SWARAJ".

Creating friendly feelings between Europeans and Indians.

54. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 28th March, in the course of a lengthy contributed article under this head-line, Observes:- It is not at all a difficult task to create friendly feelings between the British and the Indians. Let His Imperial Magesty King George V issue a proclamation like the one issued by Queen Victoria. Let all those who acted in contravention of British righteousness in the Punjab be meted out punishments commensurate with their guilt. Let an announcement be made that Indians should be treated as on apar with the British subjects. Let a new section be inserted in the Indian Penal Code providing for the due punishment of such of the Anglo-Indians as would contravene the spirit of this announcement. Let Sydenham

and his Indian Hirelings who are fomenting inter-caste quarrels, etc, be punished according to their guild. The moment this is done, Indians will begin to worship His Imperial Majesty, the King Emperor , the British authorities and their Anglo-Indian representatives in India. .. .. .. If the British wish to keep their Empire intact as at present, oet them see that the British Democtaratic principles do not disappear. If they neglect to do so, I am afraid that the fate which befell the Roman Empire would befall the British Empire as well. God forsakes those that forsake righteousness.

N.C.S. 55. In a leading article under the heading 'how to destroy non-co-operation' the KERALA PATRIKA, of the 19th March,

How to destry non-co-operation.

points out that the policy of repression followed by the Government to uproot themovement is producing the contrary results and that as far as Malabar is concerned the movement is producing the contrary results and that as far as Malabar is concerned the movement is gaining in sstrength in proportion to the endeavours of the Government to check it, and thinks that mere speeches will not produce the desired result. (The Paper refers to the conference of officials and non-officials held in the Province of Bihar and Orissa to concert measures against the movement, to the speech of the Maharaja of Durbanga and to the opinion of Lord Sinha regarding the matter xx x and says:- In case of all Provincial Governments act up to the suggestions of the Maharaja xxx and Lord Sinha, there will be prosperity among the people and those that have resorted to non-co-operation will withdraw from the movement.) So long as repression is made use of, in and out of season, racial distinctions are shown, (and repression is made use of, in and out of season, racial distinctions are shown,) and timely reforms not introduced in the country for bettering the conditions xxx xxxxx of the people, there can never be prosperity in the country however good-natured the administrators

themselves may be. We hope that all Provincial Governments will follow the lead of Lord Sinha.

Writing on the same subject, the MANORAMA, of the 18th March, is glad that the Government have not been misled by the pretence of some selfish people that non-co-operation has failed, approves of the views and attitude of Lord Sinha in the matter, and fixes the cause of the present unrest more than anything else on the poverty with which the whole country is afflicted on account of increased taxation and dependence on foreigners for the necs-necessities of life and the feeling that the Government are not doing anything to alleviate the suffering of the people. Lord Sinha wants to remove the cause and may therefore succeed in some measure to cure the disease.

56. The MANORAMA, of the 15th March, points out that the net result of the non-co-operation movement on the one hand and repression on the other is the widening of the gulf between the Government and the people and as this is disastrous this matter cannot be brushed aside as insignificant. It is the most important subject for the earliest attention of the new Viceroy.

The new Viceroy.

The YOGAKSHEMAM, of the 25th March, points out that the non-co-operation movement is gaining strength day by day and thinks that if it will serve to improve the financial condition of Indians no one will deny the necessity for the movement. The note refers particularly to the huge military expenditure in India which, for keeping the people in subjection, consumes more than three-fourths of the taxes paid by the people, and to the extravagant expenditure on salaries and observes that if non-co-operation is aimed against these, it must receive the approval of the all the people. It observes that the advent of Lord Reading is at a most critical period in the history of India and that the non-co-operation will not give way if some material changes are not make in the administration of the country.

The liberty of Government Officials.

62. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 20th March, commenting on the Government of India's circular, dated the 18th idem, permitting Government officials to oppose the non-co-operation movement, asks the nationalists to regard this to be the first crushing defeat of the Government inasmuch as they have now arranged to send a regular force against them instead of the mercenary irregulars who had hitherto been opposed to the nationalists in the hope of getting titles or remunerations.

The meeting of the servants of Khilafat.

64. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 22nd March, referring to the Government of India's circular, permitting their employees to oppose the proceedings of the Khilafat Conference, suggests that when the Government have put out an army of their employees in the field to suppress the enthusiasm of the nationalists and to defeat them in their attempt to gain their freedom, it is our duty to collect such national strengths as will help us in our endeavour to reach the goal.

The writer, discussing at length on the two questions, viz., the peace to be made with regard to the Khilafat question, and the gaining of SWARAJ, calls on the Ulema and the leaders of the Madras Presidency to hold a meeting and decide whether the people of Madras should accept the terms of the treaty or no, and on the Madras Presidency Khilafat Committee to hold a second session of its conference and try to solve the question with the assistance of Public.

The interpellation regarding --

MR. YAKUB HASAN'S RELEASE

Referring to the replies given by the Government to the interpellation by the two members of the Legislative ~~Assembly~~ Council regarding Mr. Yakub Hasan's release, the writer remarks that public dissatisfaction cannot in any way be diminished by Government throwing the responsibility on the district Magistrate/

With reference to the official communique in which the Government commends the actions of the District Magistrate and others, the writer remarks that in spite of the Government's commendation the decision of the community and the country against the officials will remain unaltered.

THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE'S ERROR.

Referring to the public opinion that the Government have issued the above communique to cover the legal blunder committed by the District Magistrat, the writer observes that the Government should have maintained silence in the matter.

65. The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, of the 26th March, referring to the motion made in the Madras Council to reduce the salary of the Publicity Officer from Rs.24,000 to 12,000 a year and to Mr. Srinivasa Ayyangar's amendment to give the post to an Indian, observes that the Council have discussed only the question of increasing and decreasing the salary of the officer but have not touched on the national question at all!

Non-co-operation and the Poblicity Bureau.

The writer also observes that the department has to some extent succeeded in conciliating the people and has particularly saved the country from the evil effects of the non-co-operation propaganda and considers it advisable that the department should exist without any reduction being made in the officer's salary. He also suggests that a branch for the publication of vernacular pamphlets should be opened in the Bureau. As the anti-non-co-operation propaganda has been started, assitance of vernacular press should should be secured. It would prevent the poisonous gas of the non-co-operation spreading the districts.

IV.NATIVE STATES.

67. The Trichur riot contineued to be hotly discussed during the week in the Malayalam Press of Cochin, Travancore and Malabar. The following are typical comments. According to

Trichur riots.

the KERALA CHANDRIKA, there was no communal hatred or strife in Trichur and the disturbance was due to the Cochin Government deputing its officials to put up a countershow to the non-co-operation movement. The MALAYALI has arrived at the conlcusion that it was the Government that originated the riot, and that this occurrence will from the darkest chapter in the history of Cochin. It recommends that Messrs. Chacko and Antony should be dismissed from the service and prosecuted, that Mr. Vijayaraghava Achari should be relieved of his Diwanship, and finally, as the action of the Cochin Government has become satanic, the people of Cochin should leave no stone unturned to make it at once a Government responsible to the people.

The SAMADARSI, of the 26th March, says that the one cause of the Trichur riot was the partiality shown by the Diwan for some communities with a view to gain cheap popularity for himself, that he is the Christians' diwan and the enemy of Nayars and that this accounted for the arrogance of the former.

The MALAYALA MANORAMA, of the 22nd March, writes:- Personal and communal rivalries and the natural resentment among certain persons against the policy of the Cochin Darbar towards the depressed classes and against those who were active in carrying out that policy, the non-co-operation and Khilafat propaganda -- all these had a share in the development of the situation. These various causes were not more serious or more discreditable in Trichur than they would have been in other Places similarly situated. The unfortunate aspect was the combination of all these different influences to bring about a highly inflammatory frame of mind among all classes of people in Trichur. It is easy to be wise after the event. But we cannot help feeling that if the Diwan of Cochin had not tried to hunt with the hounds and run with the hares -- to gain the good will of the active non-co-operators outside by giving them a free hand in Cochin and to keep well with the British authorities

by officially patronising the loyalty demonstrations and if he had waited and seen whether the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police would be able to cope with the situation before himself running headlong into the thick of the fray and taking diredirect command, nothing abnormal or untoward ~~mxidxhaxa~~ would have happened.

For the week ending 9th April 1921.

No.15 of 1921.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

1. The WEDNESDAY REVIEW of the 23rd March, has the following:-

THE ONLY REMEDY FOR NON-CO-OPERATION.

non-co-operation.

That the non-co-operators' excess can be checked by a counter-propaganda consisting of lectures and pamphlets is a vain hope. The Montagu-Moderates as they are called, who have learnt to perfection the art of sitting on the fence, cannot help in checking them; for the excellent reason that many of them were responsible for sowing the wind which has fast developed into the whirlwind which the country is experiencing today. The irresponsible agitators of 1916 and 1917 cannot with any show of consistency preach co-operation with the Government now. because they are sitting on the Ministerial benches. The exaltation of conspirators into Ministers, though with the sanction of Act of Parliament, will not have a reassuring effect on the contrary, the lesson it is bound to convey to ~~plxxxxx~~ place-hunters is that the shortest cut to the seats of the mighty is rank, unmitigated sedition. If quondam seditionists are put to preaching co-operation to the populace, the sight will not be less ludicruous than the pot calling the kettle black. And those who have

stood by the British Government and steadily declined to take advantage of their difficulty and have been too loyal to subscribe to the theory that 'the Government's difficulty is our opportunity' will not undertake a task which is both hopeless and thankless, especially when the Government are content to sit still and look on, waiting for 'the psychological moment beyond which it is unsafe to let the non-co-operators go.' We do not hesitate to say that the cult of the psychological moment is a good deal responsible for the reckles s goings of the non-co-operators. Ever since the SATYAGRAHA movement was initiated by Mr. Gandhi, with its HARTALS and other undesirable manifestations, the Government seem to have been under a spell of inaction occasionally varied by press communique's and Viceregal utterances distinguished not so much by light as by sweetness. If hard words break no bones, soft ones are not particularly calculated to turn away the non-co-operator from his defiance. Every time an excess is committed in the name of SATYAGRAHA or non-co-operation, the leader thereof expresses his contrition at the unforeseen escapades of his unphilosophical followers; the Government cry, beware, in mock-heroic accents; their accredited agents have three hour interviews with him; and the tragedy is repeated and the process is gone through again. That has been the history of India for the last five years and yet the Government have not lost faith in a policy of drift and of dalliance with law-breakers. They still believe that it is possible for the non-co-operation leaders 'to pull the trigger of a rifle and advice the cap not to explode.' As a first remedy to non-co-operation the impossibility of the feat must be brought home to the Government. And as for the leaders of it, some of them have not made a secret of their creed that, if it came to offering armed resistance to the authority of the Government they would not shrink from it. After such an unequivocal declaration by some of the more important of Mr. Gandhi's Lieutenants, the Government cannot very well say that they would take the necessary steps to check the excess of the

of the movement after it has reached a certain stage. Can anybody pretend to-day that the stage is not long past when a policy of forbearance would have answered? If any one should seriously contend that non-co-operation could be checked by a counter-propaganda which will consist of public meetingsand publication of literature, all that we can say is that he is not aware of the methods employed by the non-co-operators to spread their cult. No good purpose will be served by shutting one's eyes to truth and commouflaging it to make it appeal less hideous. There is a lot more violence in the 'non-violent' non-co-operation than the leaders are prepared to admit and the Government care to see. .. .. .. It is time the truth was told about a movement wich Sir Valentine Chirol, who cannot be accused of belittling the saintliness of Mr. Gandhi, characterises as containing 'dangerous elements whose by no means selfless purpose is sheer revolutiona and destruction'. Yet this movement is sought to be counteracted by platform orations and polished bulletins. A more futile remedy for so violent a disease it is hard to imagine If the Government are in earnest in putting it down, not so much to save their prestige as save the general population from anarchic disorders and all the horrors, which they cannote, they must rewolutely fight it with al their resources without leaving the responsibility to other hands."

2. JUSTICE, of the 2nd April, writes:- "Lord Chelmsford laid down the Viceroyalty this afterneen, and Lord Reading has assumed office as his successor. Lord Chelmsford's term of office was a momentous one in Indian history. It was a time of war, of trouble, of change, of a vast world-ferment; and nowhere else were these manifestations more threatening than in this country. Lord Chelmsford was called to office to deal with these perplexing problems without anyprevious experience of great affairs; and, in judging of his Viceroylty, this fact has to be

Lord Chelmsford.

has to be borne in mind. He has committed blunders, some of which are far-reaching in their consequences:- he leaves behind to his successor in this respect, we fear, a heritage of woe. Had Lord Chelmsford possessed the large experience, the great knowledge and the lively imagination which guarantee succe s in great offices in his own country, he would not have committed some at all events of the mistakes which will ever be remembered against him. Not only was his mental horizon limited but he lacked somewhat the assertiveness and individuality necessary to work in conjunction with a Secretary of State like Mr. Mongagu. Our late Viceroy could not also see beneath the surface of things, and the professional agitators took undue advantage of it. His Viceroyalty will, however, be noted for the reforms which, in spite of all Mr. Montagu's cleverness, would not have been what they are, had it not been for the nethusiasm and the constructive ideas which Lord Chelmsford had brought to bear on them. In British politics, he is what is called a Tory. In India, in the matter of constitutional development, he proved himself a genuine Liberal; and whether the present reforms prove a late Viceroy for the direction he has given to their political energies."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.FOREIGN POLITICS.

7. The SWADESAMITRAN of the 26th March, writes:- It appears that 25,000 acres of land are to be sold in auction in July

Indians in East Africa.

next in Nairobi but that Indians are prohibited from bidding in that sale. Though it is incessantly proclaimed that, as subjects of His Imperial Majesty, the Indians also are entitled to all the privileges of British subjects, yet on the plea of administration administrative exigencies requiring certain restrictions being imposed, it is so arranged that fertile tracts having facilities of railway communication, etc., are kept beyond the reach of the Indians. It is not known where justice can be had for this. Application to the British Government was of no avail.

But we think that Indian can appeal to the League of Nations against the British Government. Like Britain, India also is a regular member of the League and if there is any reason why India should not prefer such an appeal, we hope the British Government would point it out. We should feel grateful to the Government of India in this connexion. When the property of the Germans and the Governemnt lands in Tanganyika are sold, the Indians may not be rich enouh to compete with other capitalists in the bid. A representative of the Government of India would do well to purchase the lands in the aution sale and then parcel out these lands amohg the Indians and realise the purchase money.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

SWARAJ and the Muhammadans.

19. Referring to the statement of a correspondent in one of its contemporaries, that rumour is current that some Muhammadan leaders are working to form a party for claiming the administration of the country in the event of India acquiring SWARAJ and that some of the descendants of the ancient NAWABS are supporting this movement, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 24th March, remarks that this rumour must be an unfounded one and that it should b deemed to have been set afloat by thos einterested and marring the Hindu-Muslim Unity.

THE PUBLICITY BUREAU.

21. Appreciating the action of the Local Legislative Council retaining the Publicity Bureau and extending the sphere of its operations, the HINDU NESAN, of the 25th March, observes:- while some are intent on carrying on non-co-operation propaganda, is it not necessary that there should be an agency to counteract it? If the mischief of the non-co-operators who preach rebellion against law and justice is to be curbed, the Publicity Board should resort to propaganda work on proper lines. The Board should, besides considering it to be their duty to explain

clearly the administrative reforms and point out their beneficial nature, adopt measures which would conduce ~~the~~ to the development of industry and agriculture and the preservation of health.

22. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th March and DESABHAKTAN, of the 25th idem publish a communication form a correspondent, which states that lectures are being delivered by one Chinna Lakshmana Raja in different parts of Salem with the result that the people have begun to display much enthusiasm in the cause of non-co-operation and that in one of such lectures he is reported to have asked the people to boycott the Governor of Madras, during his ensuing visit.

The Congress Propaganda work.

23. Referring to the communicque of the Local Government on the punishment of Mr. Yakub Hasan and others, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 22nd March, remarks that the communique contains nothing, new, beyond an acceptance in toto, by the Government of the views expressed by Sir Lionel Davidson in the Legislative Council and adds:- The Government say that this communique has been issued because the papers have commented upon the incidents in Malabar. It was only after knowing ~~whatxSxxxx S~~what Sir Lionel Davidson said in the Legislative Council on this subject that the papers began to comment. When there are no new facts to refute the view of the papers, we do not see the advantage of publishing again the observations of Sir Lionel Davidson. This communique only makes the position of the Government worse and does not relieve them of the blame thrown upon them by the papers. The view of the papers is that there was no likelihood of any disturbance in Calicut, that there was therefore no reason for arresting or demanding security from Mr. Yakub Hasan and others and that the Government had recourse to section 144 Criminal procedure Code only to annoy the non-co-operators.

INCIDENTS IN MALABAR.

The Government only confirm this view in their communique. It appears the District Magistrate intimated, as early as the 19th ~~xxxxxx~~ Febraury, theat order had been restored. Why then are Mr. Yakub Hasan and others, ~~it was stated that the question was not sufficiently specific to admit of an answer as regards the period prior to the arrest of Mr./Hasan and others~~ Yakub still detained in custody? In reply to a question by Mr. A.S. Krishna Rao in the Legislative Council, whether it was true that there was no disturbance of peace in Calicut either before or after the arrest of Mr. Yakub admit of an answer as regards the period ~~tox~~prior prior to arrest and that it was not true that there were not breache breaches of peace since the arrest. Both this reply and the communique mentioned above have emanated from the same Government. The Comminique says that normal conditions prevailed since the 19th Febraury, while the reply denies the fact that there have been no breaches of peace after the arrest. As these are paradoxical statements we wish to know the truth. In the ommunique issued by Government of India, asking the Government officials must come forwardto speak the truth as political propagandists are misrepresentating facts. We are not aware of the latter having made any misrepresentation. Cannot the Government, who blame the political propagandists, set an example to them by adopting straight methods? His Excellecny stated in the Pachayappa's Hall that he felt sure that 98 per cent of the people did not accept non-co-operation. Why should then the District Magistrate of Malabar seek permission to apply the law regarding disaffection? Does it indicate a straight method to say in one place that the non-co-operation is not at all accepted by the poeple and to deprive the people of their liberties in another on the plea of a likelihood of a disturbance of the peace as a result of the non-co-operation propaganda? The Government of Bihar seem to be recovering their senses gradually. We do not know when the Government in Madras will recover theirs.

24. Referring to the reply of Sir William Vincent to the

REPRESSIVE MEASURES.

effect that, as it is incumbent pm tje government to preserve peace in the country, they have directed that action should be taken only under the ordinary laws against those creating ~~that action should~~ disaffection among the people and inciting them to violence, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th March, observes:- We have nothing to complain against action being taken under the ordinary laws against people committing crimes, but our only objection is that the ordinary laws are being applied as repressive measures against Congress propagandists. If Mr. Yakub Hasan and others had either created disaffection among the people or incited them to violence, the Government should have taken action against them only under the Section 124-A of the Penal Code. Their failure, however, in taking action in pursuance of the orders of the Government of India shows that no such offence has been committed, and it is only the application of Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code against them in such circumstances that makes us remark that ordinary laws are being applied as repressive measures. Many more instances can be quoted to prove that the officials are applying or ordinary laws in the place of repressive measures. One would expect that the Government would not resort to any repressive measures as already agreed by them and they have also been acting on the same policy and applying only ordinary laws till now. But as a result of the recent discussion, ordinary laws will be resorted to hereafter only 'as far as possible' for stiffling the non-co-operation movement, and a plea has thus been provided for the Government to resort to repressive measures. We are afraid that some officials taking advantage of this might be creating a very difficult situation for Lord Reading to deal with.

25. The NAVASAKTI, of the 25th March, says:- No other movement has created such panic and loss of spirit in the minds of the bureaucrats. Without stopping with mere repression, the authorities have begun to adopt other ways to stiffle the movement. The Government servants have now been permitted to suppress it by carrying on propaganda work. The order prohibiting them from entering into politics has been cast to the winds. It remains to be seen how far these succeed in their work. The cobra of repression may come out to devour the writing s and speeches of non-co-operators. But no cobra can possible devour the practical side of the movement. So, non-co-operation propaganda is no longer necessary and all that is needed at this juncture is to give practical effect to the movement.

The non-co-operation movement.

Making fun of the AMITY of FEELING now obtaining between 'NEW INDIA and the MADRAS MAIL', the DESABHAKTAN, of the 22nd March dilates upon the mighty capacity of the non-co-operation movement and observes:- This movement has made the Government and its officials lose their balance. The bureaucrats, who were treating Indians and their efforts with contempt, have now began to be afraid of them. Many hate the non-co-operators and punish them more severely than wretches. Our readers need not be reminded of the intelligent actions of Mr. Thomas and the rare idea of liberty possessed by our Ministers. Even more funny is the situation in the United Provinces, where Europeans and Government officials get alarmed at usual sounds and shadows. Ten years ago the sound of VANDE MATARAM grated the ears of our European colleagues. They tried hard to do away with it; but finding it impossible, they left it alone. We hoped that they would not repeat the error at least after this experience. But the sound of 'Mahatma Gandhi jai' bewilders them similarly now. Every one would have noted the ordinary people uttering the very words which excite a mad man. If, unaware of even this

of even this ordinary experience, responsible officials get frightened by this innocent cry, the people will only lauge laugh and not be alarmed at it. This fright of the officials and the vain effort made to get rid of this cry, will only make it more popular. This cry cannot disappear from this country, until we acquire SWARAJ whatever obstacles the officials may raise and however much the Anglo-Indian papers like NEW INDIA and the MAIL and the black Englishmen like Mr. Tyagaraya Chettiyar and Mr. Ramarayaningar may work against it. It is wrong to contrue this expression Mahatma Gandhi Jai as applying to Mr. Gandhi individually! His name is so much on the lips of Hindus, Muhammadans and others only because he reflects in his life all the ambitions, thehopes, the efforts, the pertinacity and the zeal for liberty of Hindustan. So let the European join us in urging on the British Government the Grant of SWARAJ, at least to stop the cry that is detested by them.

In the course of a running comment on this subject, the TAMIL NADU, of the 27th March, pities the officials for the efforts made by them to crush it, and describing the atrocities said to have been committed in the Punjab, says that the anxiety of the 'whites' to suppress this movement is due to their fear that it will lead to the acquisition of SWARAJ and thereby cut at the root of their special influence and prestige in the country. It also contains a carping criticism of His Excellency Lord Willingdon's speech on the occasion of the prize distribution in the Pachayappa's college, and referring specially to his remark thereat that all theEnglishmen in this country would go home the moment the Indian acquire the capacityof governing their country, observes:- The whites have been repeating this old tale ever since they set foot in India. The Indians will no longer be deceived by such words. When even Mr. Gandhi, the embodiment of patience has lost his faith in the utterances of the Government, no one, except the moderates hankering after appointment, will attach any value

to the sweet words of His Excellency. Even if the Englishmen, who profess to have left their home, wife and children and come here, covering a distance of 6,000 miles, and to be putting up with much of hardship only in the interests of the Idnians, leave for their place this very day, our country will doubtless prosper and we will soon attain an eminent position. So Lord Willingdon and his countrymen can gladly start for their country without any anxiety about us. We are ready to give them a farewell address, if necessary and we are bound to pay their travelling expenses.

28. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 28th March, publishes, a communication on this subject from a correspondent, which contains the following observations among others:- There are many big Christian Missionaries in the several provinces in India who are paid high salaries by Government together with famine allowance and establishment charges. In the Madras Presidency, the Lord Bishop of Madras is paid salary of Rs.2,133-5-4 and there are many such in India. Poor overworked persons well-versed in the several sciences! The expenditure on this item has increased by Rs.44,000 during the year 1920-21. If financial help is asked for on behalf of the famishing elementary teachers, want of funds is urged as an excuse. What is the help done to the Hindus till now by these missionaries?

The expenditure on Missionaries.

29. Remarking that the telegraphic news has been received from England, that England has suffered huge financial loss on account of the adoption by a few of the Congress resolution on the boycott of foreign articles, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 28th March, observes:- We should at once begin to boycott English goods in obedience to the mandate of the Congress. The Government is loath to give up the trade in liquor, which, however, can find a sale here only if we go in for it. Let us

Boycott of foreign goods.

request every one to completely give up everything connected with drink. If we do so persistently the day for the opening of the door of SWARAJ will be near at hand, inasmuch as the English Government is nothing but a commercial one. If Commerce is prejudicially affected, the hue and cry in England will become intense. Then England will, of her own accord, reconstitute the system of Government of India and seek trade relations with her.

31. Referring to the personnel of the two committees appointed to consider about the repressive laws in the country and the Press Act, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 23rd March, says:-

The committees to inquire about repressive laws.

Some may be satisfied with the fact that, excepting Sir William Vincent and Mr. Hammond, all the members of thes commisstees are Indians. But we shouod not forge t that they are all of them gems among the moderates. It should be noted that Mr. Asad Ali Khan is there! Mr. Khaparde and Mr. Norton are not on them. Perhaps the former has been left off, because he is a nationalist. Did Mr. Sapru exclude the latter, for fear that he may excel him, being a capable lawyer?

34. Referring to the action of the District Magistrate of Malabar, against Mr. Yakub Hasan and others, the PANDIYA NESAN, of the 26th Febraury, has a lengthy leader, in English in which the following remarks find place among others:- "We are satisfied the District Magistrate's sole intention was to preserve the public peace for which he was responsible. For he has subsequently notified his intetntion to release these leaders immediately he is satisfied the temper of the people has cooled down

Repression in Malabar.

We cannot judge the spirit of the reforms from this incident and say that the inauguration of the reforms has not

yet changed the angle of vision of the civilians. That the Government, which consists mostly of civilian officers, have adjusted themselves to the spirit of the reforms will be seen from their acceptance of the resolutions of the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri for a committee to inquire into the question of repealing or amending the repressive legislation in India and of the Hon'ble Mr. Jumnadas Dwarakadoss to express regret of the Government over the Punjab tragedy."

Divide and Rule policy.

35. Remarking that all those races that wish to conduct the administration of an an empire without attaching primary importance to the welfare of the subjects, will have to adopt only the 'divide and rule policy', the DESABHAKTAN, of the 25th March, observes:- As the ruling race is seeking Imperial sway only in view to enrich itself with thewealth and labur of the ruled classes, the main concern and anxiety to of the former is to prevent the attempts of the latter to get rid of their slavery. This policy is as anti-quoted as Rome. It is this that is being adopted by Englishmen in India even-to-day! It is pitiable that some Indians, without caring for the real welfare of the country and the lasting advantage for themselves and their posterity, covet only the temporary benefit and the false honour that they may secure and get entangled in the trap set by the English. It may appear to them, that their liberty is not lost while they are in such a trap and that they are enjoying freedom. But on that score, the net does not cease to be what it is. The recent discussion in the Legislative Assembly on the non-co-operation movement has clearly shown how easy it is for the bureaucrats to divide us and rule. Sir Vincent stated that those who directly or indirectly created disturbances would be severely dealt with. But if the intention to pu ish those that indirectly bring abut disturbances is sincere, we only feel that the majority

of the bureaucrats will have to be punished. But seeing if that these words of Sir William-V did not create any excitement among the members, we cannot but be struck with ew wonder, however thoroughly we may be acquainted with their nature. Unnecessary criminal trials are being conducted all over the country. People are imprisoned for very ordinary speeches and actions. In spite of these, the Legislative Assembly has declined to come forward to oppose all these. Sir Vincent has also pointed out that the Provincial Legislative Councils have approved of the propriety of the repressive measures o of their respective Governments. From this it can be seen how far the 'divide and rule policy' has succeeded. Therefore, the Indians should awake from their slumber and keeping aloof from the opponents of their race, influence those who have already joined such a party to give it up and work in the cause of the country.

R.A. 38. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 30th March, also refers to the above subject and writes:

The Savarkar Brothers.

It is vain to expect resolutions and orders favourable to India to be passed in the present day Legislative Councils. However, we would remark that the members of the Council of State should not have been so indifferent and merciless in regard to these brothers. When Mr. Rangaswami Ayyangar pleaded for their release, Mr. Seddon and Sir William Vincent brought forward a plea full of falsehood and silenced the members of the House. The English are matchless in the art of cleverly putting forth the wrong facts and making them appear as unalloyed truth. The only evidence made out against Vinayak Savarkar was that account he sent revolvers to India and with one of these Mr. Jackson was shot. If, on account of this, it is deemed just to decide that the Savarkar brothers are murderers, is it not necessary that the manufacturers of the revolvers, the sellers and the owners

of the vessel that imported the weapons into India should also be declared guilty and punished with transportation? On the termination of the war many robbers and murderers were released from prison. When a responsible member asks for the release of a person of culture who has been unjustly colvicted and who has suffered prison life for ten years the opposition is raised that he is a murderer. Is it then wrong to say that the majority of the bureaucrats and the members of the Council of State hate the nationalists much more than robbers? Hereafter at least the people should not be indifferent. The fact of a persons being kept in custody unjustly should weight on every one as a clog on one's liberty. The patriots now in prison will get released only if incessant agitation is made with such a feeling.

M. R.

The allotment for the Russelkonda Mill.

40. Concluding from the result of the discussion of the budget in the Imperial Legislative assembly and the Provincial Legislative Council that the popular control of the purse is more effective in the case of the former than in that of the latter, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 28th March takes special exception to His Excellency the Governor having directed the restoration of the allottment for the Russellkonda Mill disallowed by the Legislative Council and observes:- The Madras Government, who have agreed to abide by the decision of the Council in regard to the Land Records Department, insist upon the allotment for a Mill to be run by Messrs. Parry & Co., disallowed by the Council, being restored, perhaps owing to racial considerations. As the departments transferred to the Ministers depend for their expenditure on the Executive Council it has now been made clear that the people will come to have real power in the administration only if the power of the Governor to alter a deciion come to by the Legislative Council on the budget is taken away. Lord Willingdon perhaps thinks that

that the interests of a European Company are more important than the wishes of the popular re/presentatives in the Legislative Council. Several people praised His excellency that he would give effect to the Reforms Act according to its real spirit. Does that spirit consistin conducting the administration so as not to unjure the interests of the Europeans?

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 29th March, reverts to this subject and, concluding from the fact, that the agreement of the Government with Messrs. Parry & Co., was concluded on the 16th December 1920, the day before the new constitution was ushered into existence with mush fuss, that it was done only to bind the new Goverment apparently with a distrust of those that will constitute it and quoting the agreements adduced by the Governor in justification of his order, observes:- It is stated that, as the company had ordered for the necessary plant relying upon the agreement, the Government were advised that an action would lie against them by the Company if the contract was cancelled now. But the elections were over on 30th November lasta and both Parry & Co., and theGovernment should have been aware when this agreement was concluded that the new Legislative Council had to approve of the allotment. So it is a doubtful point whether the Legislative Council disallowing the grant, can proceed against the Government for non-fulfilment of the contract. Another ground adduced by the Governor is that the honour of the Government would be lost if an agreement entered into whole-heartedly was to be negatived. We think he did not bestow any thought on the question whether the honour of the Government would be lost because they entered into a contract on a matter in which they had no power or because the members of the Legislative Council had come to a reasonable conclusion as the representatives of the tax-payer. When the Legislative Council has the power of sanctioning or disallowing any allotment in the budget, do not the Government ignore the honour of the Council by concluding an agreement beforehand

which has theeffect of negativing the power of the Council to disallow an allotment? When the Executive Council has whole-heartedly courted the loss of honour, a negation of the contract would entail, how can it be said that the action of the Legislative Council will tell upon the honour of the Government? The Legislative Council did not object to the development of forest resources. It objected only to the Government having entrusted the mill to a European company, with out ascertaining whether any Indian firm was prepared to run the concern. The objection of the Council is in accordance with the recommendations of the Industries Commission and the action of the Government is contrary to them. The remark that some members voted on the resolution, without a knowledge of the facts and on racial considerations, is an insult to them. Some of them have an experience of the locality and they said that therer were Indians who could take up the work and manage it well. Impartial men would charge only the Government and not the members of the Legislative Council with racial bias. His Excellency the Governor quotes a portion of the order of His Majesty chalking out the lines on which the Reforms Act should be given effect to and sayastthat he resorted the allotment on the same principle But we think that, on the very principles quoted by him, he ought not to have interfered with the decision of the Council. As His Excellecny has thus exercised a special power entursted to him, ignoring the wishes of the Legislative Council, it raised a serious political issue and it remains to be seen how the members of the Council are going to meet it.

45. Reviewing the administration of Lord Chelmsford, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 31st March, observes in its leader:-

Lord Chelmsford's administration.

.. .. .. Even in his farewell speech, Lord Chelmsford did not make any mention of the Punjab Disorders. He did not express his regret for the injustice done to the Indians. He did not

ask for the people's pardon. There is nothing surprising in this. Prestige is everything for the authorities. They feel it derogatory to act up to the people's wishes. Even after the introduction of the reforms, the old conditions have not undergone any change. The Indian administration still continues to be in the hands of the authorities. They themselves possess the responsibility of imparting lessons in self-government to the people. That is why the reforms have not been able to allay the unrest among the people. They have not been able to solve the Punjab problem. Lord Chelmsford formed a part of the machine of administration, and he went round with it as it rotated. .. .. .. We need not blame Lord Chelmsford for not overcoming the trammels of his office. He exhibited the same weakness as an ordinary human being. That he did not possess extraordinary ability is not his fault. We may blame God for not granting him necessary powers or the British Government which appointed him for an office of such responsibilities as those of the Viceroyalty of India. Lord Chelmsford is a weak-minded man while Lord Curzon was strong. Lord Curzon carried on his administration according to his own will and pleasure and thus created great dissatisfaction among the people. Lord Chelmsford being weak adopted the path chalked out by a few of the authorities and so created greater unrest than before. Lord Curzon exhibited great skill, and never hesitated in getting his wishes carried out. India will ever remember him for his having created the spirit of nationality in her. If Lord Curzon occupies the first place in this respect, we cannot but offer the second place to Lord Chelmsford. But for him, there would not have been such an awakening in India. Lord Chelmsford did not show mcuh skill in carrying out his will. He submitted himself entirely to the bureaucracy. He had no separate will of his own. Whatever good or evil that resulted from his Government must be attributed to the machine of his administration of which he was only a part. .. .. ..

If Lord Chelmsford had been a little sympathetic and tactful when the Press Deputation under Mr. Horniman waited on him, the first part of his administration at least would have been somewhat peaceful. On the other hand, he urged the necessity for the Press Act. Then in the matter of the internment of Mrs. Besant, he did not move any inch even though the whole of India protested against it. .. .. .. Subsequently it was he again that cancelled the internment without even consulting Lord Pentland. From that time onwards, Lord Pentland's Government and Lord Chelmsford's government did not agree with each other. Lord Pentland aaid that the reforms should never be granted to India. To support his views, he set up the JUSITICE party. In the second stage of his administration, Lord Chelmsford earned a pretty good name. With the begining of the third stage, the decline of his administration began and it gradually grew worse. We do not find any stamp of his individuality on any part of his administration. Still India will remember him long. Lord Curzon created the spirit of nationality in us. Lord Chelmsford spread among the people a thirst for SWARAJ. Historians cannot but record their services in the cause of SWARAJ for India.

R.A. 48. The VENKATESAPATRIKA of the 19th March, has the following in a note in English:- "Section 144, 107 etc., of the Criminal procedure Code and several sections of the Penal Code have become mines of Golconda to the reformed repressors, from which any amount of inestimable treasures could be dug out. What prevents the District Magistrate of Panic-Nagar from issuing the following orders under section 144 or 107 Criminal Procedure Code:-

New lessons.

"Whereas in my opinion, your walking on your legs, or breathing through your nose or mouth, or marrying any woman and thus be in a position to procreate a seditiously inclined

child or children is likely to inflame my mind and those of my loyal servants and fawning subjects so as to cause me or them to commit a breach of peace, I direct you to walk on your head, to refrain from breathing through your nose or mouth, from marrying or otherwise doing any act likely to bring forth a child and so on.

"Our moderate friends dazzled by the glory of the reforms have no time to laugh much less to weep over such orders which are now as plenty as strawberris.

"We only requesti Mr. Ayyangar to enumerate the immediate benefits to the poor tax-payer from the reforms. Fat salaries and high honours are a curse to the ordinary citizens.

57. THE QAUMI REPORT, of the 27th March, comments on the statement of the MADRAS MAIL that a very heavy attack is being organised with the help of Government officials, wealthy people and some zamindars, which will shortly be made on the servants of the Khilafat, congratulates the opponents on their zeal, and remarks that the exercise of such high-handedness on the servants of the Khilafat is unjust or rather oppressive and will defeat its object. If the Government are anxious to find out the real issue between freedom and bondage, or between right and wrong, they may suspend the administration of law, and give free scope to their officers of authority and the servants of the Khilafat for discussion until either side wins or loses, but it is not manly to vest one party, the official one with power to use the tongue, the pen and the arm against the defenceless nationalist party and suppress their feelings.

t The beginning of repression.

IV. NATIVE STATES:.

62. The SWADESABHIMANI, of the 1st April, in the course of a long contributed article under this heading, makes the following observations::- If Indian princes marry European wives and try to instal the issues of such marriages on their GADIS, will it not amount to voluntarily delivering up our Native States into the hands of foreigners? In that case, what is the use of agitating for SWARAJ, and what earthly use will there be in agitating for the preservation of our race? .. .. .. The marriage of the Maharaja of Puddukkottai will not obtain acceptance at the hands of any one, deadly opposed it is to the religious beliefs, customs and manners of the Hindu society and to the political advancement of India. It is highly advisable that our social workers and patriots should put a stop to this mania which is growing day by day. It is one thing to indulge in immorality according to a man's individual whims and passions, and quite another to contend that society should approve of one's actions merely because one is possessed of much wealth."

The Puddukkottai marriage and the social problem.

<u>For the week ending 16th April 1921</u>.

<u>No.16 of 1921</u>.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.HOME ADMINISTRATION

(k) General.

2. The JUSTICE, of the 9th April, observes:- "A report of what Mr. Gandhi said at the meeting last evening on the Marina is published elsewhere. The meeting was presided over by local Brahman politicians of the Gandhi Persuation, and Mr. Gandhi himself was surreounded by Brahmans of both sexes. A band of them came to the meeting singing hymns. They broke

Mr. Gandhi in Madras.

coconuts in front of Mr. Gandhi, burnt camphor and presented with holy water in a silver basin. There were other marks of deification and, naturally, the vanity of the man was flattered beyond measure. He held forth on the glories of Brahmanism and the Brahmanical religion. Not knowing even the elements of Dravidian Culture, Dravidian philosophy, Dravidan literature Dravidian languages and Dravidian history, this Guzarathi gentleman extolled the Brahmans to the skies at the expense of the non-Brahmans; and the Brahmans present must have been supremely pleased and elated. They must have thought that the whole world was at their feat begging for a divine morsel of knowledge from them. These vicegerants of God on earth finding themselves in the company of the preacher from Western India may have fancied that they were themselves the gods of creation. With that, however, we are not at present concerned. Those who know the history of the Brahman caste know all about it. But what we cannot understand is the attitude of Mr. Gandhi towards the non-Brahmans. We know he does not care for facts. He lives and flourishes in forthy emotionalism. If he cared for truth, he ought to have admitted that though non-Brahman movement was in existance only for four years, it has produced an awakening among the non-Brahmans, which augurs nothing but good for their future. Freed from the Brahminical shackles non-Brahmans have begun to enjoy the invigorating atmosphere of social freedom; and if they continue to do so, they will grow into a most healthy and virile community able to hold their own against any community or class in the world. We of the non-Brahman movement have resolved to let Brahmanism severely alone. We have had enough of Brahminicle leadership, and Brahmanical leadership has produced only 'slave mentality' in this country. .. .. One wonders whether your Brahmanism itself would have survived the fierce struggle between the Hindus and Muslims. But historical facts and the historical methods Mr. Gandhi does not trouble himself with. He sees certain

evils and imagines that the best way to get rid of them is by inducing the pepple to go back upon their past. It is useless to argue with him. He cares neither for facts nor for arguments. Look at his assertion about Brahmans not caring for Government appointments. Could anything be more unfounded? He appeals to the prejudices of promiscuous gatherings without rhyme or reason.

"The issue raised is, however, a deep and momentous one. None can afford to ignore it. Mr. Gandhi is striving hard to subvert the British Government in India and to establish what is called SWARAJ. If the British people leave India today, there will certainly be chaos and anarchy. And Mr. Gandhi himself, who is now listened to with respect by a certain class of malcontents, will have to seek and find a safe asylum for himself. He has suggested that when what he calls SWARAJ is established, those who should be at the top should be Brahmans. His glorification of Brahmanism and the Brahmanical caste means nothing else. If Non-Brahmans in this province and in other parts of India are anxious to continue to advance, they should all unite and, animated by the impulses of progress, put down this Gandhi nuisance. Gandhism has become a serious menace to the peace and progress of India. Mr. Gandhi's theories are all unmitigated nonsense. He has yet to show that he has got any constructive ideas for the development and uplift of his country. He is a mass of contradictions and the very fact that he has become the favourite alike of the political Brahmans and of Khilafat Muhammadans must convince every patriotic and self-respecting non-Brahman, that his political and social salvation lies in destroying the new monster of social iniquity with all at his disposal."

N-C-S 3. The HINDU, of the 11th April, has the following:-"The stream of repression broadens from precedent to precedent.

Non-co- operation.

The local satrps everywhere are indulging in a competition of

zeal, each trying to go one better than his neighbour. The administration of the first Indian Governor in the history of British India till now easly led the field but it has now been passed by that of another Montaguite enthusiast, Sir Harcourt Butler. While the air is ringing with protestations from the bureaucracy, severally and in the mass, eschewing any idea of 'repression' the heads of the provinces have been racking their brains to invent ways of fighting the non-co-operation movement that would do the trick without any unseemly exhibition of the cloven foot of repression. In Madras the sacred task has been entrusted to one of our contemporaries which religiously devotes a certain number of columns to displaying its zeal in the cause without any body a parently being a penny the worse. In other provinces however the wisdom of a policy of masterly inactivity has as yet not dawned upon their rulers and these appear wishful to march from blunder to blunder, from one set of pinpricks to another, towards a general insurgence of popular indignation. .. .. .. A shining example of the new policy is to be found in the circular issued by the United Provinces Goverment to Commissioners, which we publish elsewhere . .. . What we wish to point out here is the spirit behind the new policy. It is the spirit of reprisals, for that is what is carrying the war into the ~~nemey's~~ enemy's country implies. It is the spirit that in Ireland answers murder with murder multiplied. In India it has not yet taken those grosser forms which have made Britain's Irish policy a byword throughout the world but once the State descends to what is called fighting the enemy with his own weapons, and which generally means launched on the road to discredit. If therefore the provincial satrap wished to preserve the threadbare remnants of ~~prestix~~ prestige they would have been wiser to stick to repression which after all is a game they understand and can be played, if not with success at least without much loss of dignity.

But what amazes us is the singular inopportuneness of the moment chosen for launching this great counter-offensive. It may truly be said that at the present movement there is a comparative lull in the struggle. The advent of Lord Reading has engendered everywhere a desire that in view of his sympathetic utterances he should be given a chance to make good his words. .. .. .. While there is thus a kind of implied truce Sir Harcourt Butler has launched -- of course with the approval of Ministers, whose gratitude for favours conferred will no doubt outlast many more such shocks to their principles -- a campaign, the fatuous inopportuneness of which can only be rivalled by the purblind perversity which insists on regarding a legitimate and peaceful movement as revolutionary. .. .. .. If wising to change the form of Government is unconstitutional disloyal or revolutionary, these are epithets which could be applied equally to Mr. Mongagu's Mission. If the implication were true that the movement is intended to bring about the end of the British connection, then no doubt much of the criticism from the official point of view would be justified but it has been made perfectly clear time and again that it is not essentially anti-British. It is only contingently so. .. .. .. It is thus clear that the Anti-British aspect of the movement waxes in direct and immediate response to the encouragement it receives. The remedy obviously lies in the hands of those who are in charge of the destinies of this country. As we have pointed out so often before non-co-operation is not an end in itself; it is only a means to an end. And as that end recedes or approaches so must its leaders direct an intensifying or a slackening of the people's efforts, undismayed by the subtle form of persecution adumbrated by Sir Harcourt Butler or by the merely ridiculous vapourings of self-elected protagonists nearer home."

Parties

Hon'ble Mr. V.S.Sastri .

4. The HINDU, of the 14th April, has the following:-"Mr. Srinivasa Sastri having had greatness thrust upon him in despite of a protesting modesty, has lost no time in justi-

fying his selection. When Lala Lajpat Rai delivered his tremendous indictment of the moderates he could hardly have expected that his charges could so soon be proven to the hilt from the antics of one who is if not the high priest of the expectant fraternity at least one of its shining lights. It is a strange characteristic of moderate mentality that their much vaunted 'co-operation' should express itself essentially in a morbid craving to foul their own nest. Their new found sense of responsibility is mainly indicated by a prompt jettisoning of all the principle that they had hitherto preached on a hundred platforms. Moderates who thundered in periods of well rounded eloquence calmly consent to make themselves parties, on their accession to places of power, to acts that not so long ago roused them into indignant verbiage. They lose no opportunity of out-heroding Herod in their denunciation of agitation. And yet none so indignant as they at the slightest hint that their conduct is not all that is entirely proper and patriotic. It is not necessary to paint them as blacker than they are and ascribe to them all the disqualifications of the anti-Christ, to show that at the present moment the moderates, with their fatal pliability, their readiness to please officialdom and their lack of faith in their own countrymen, are an even greater menace to the country's progress than is the bureaucracy. It was because he recognised this fact clearly that Lala Lajpat Rai, a man not generally given to superlatives in invective, felt constrained to talk as he did of the moderates who are now so busily engaged in standing in their country's side light. He has incurred much violent abuse from the Moderate Press for his frankness. Mr. Sastri, of course, does not abuse. .. .. We cannot conceive a greater misfortune to this country than that it should be misrepresented at a most important crisis of the Empire's history by a man who has so little sense of responsibility that he carries the petty spite and his small-souled party terminology into matters of Imperial concern.

It was said of the Austrians that they had a genius for defeat. It may be said with equal justice of Mr. Sastri that he has a genius for surrender and this is the man, who is nowhere less honoured or viewed with more distrust than in his own Presidency, who is entrusted with a task that might well tax the resources of the ables, most determined and most patriotic of Indian statesmen. And yet, that he will create a good impression upon his colleagues is as certain that India will have to pay necessary for public opinion to make itself felt with no uncertain violce and demonstrate that Mr. Sastri, repudiated in Madras by the non-Brahmans and by cracy and represents nobody but himself and that august body. In trying to show that his selection was not entirely undeserved Mr. Sastri in the course of the interview urges, it will be seen, that even if the choice had been left to the Legislature he would have had a chance of election. We miss Mr. Sastri's bashful modesty in this assertion. We do not say he had no chance of election. Stranger things have happened and the good fairy which through his career has usefully supplemented his medoicre deserts might have once agains stood him in good stead. But a man who could not obtain the suffrages of a vast majority of the graduated in an election to the local University Senate as against a comparatively little known and youthful rival and who even with the restricted frachise for the Council of State managed to slip in an inglorious third must be either blind to facts or be gifted with a more than normal proportion of native cheek to claim that he is a repre-sentative of India at the Imperial Conference, is the 'accident of an accident' and would be well advised not to arrogate to his position or his choice an importance greater than they can support. Meanwhile the long-suffering country can only watch with scepticism tinged with bitterness the latest example of the making of a statesman out of the most unpromising material.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.FOREIGN POLITICS.

A-1.

7. Adverting to the reply recently sent by Lord Ampthill, the president of this Committee, to Sir Frank Carter

The Emergency Committee.

in India, the TAMIL NADU, of the 3rd April, observes:- Lord Ampthill, Lord Sydenham and others, who have grown fat with India's money, are ungratefully intent on keeping us ever under subjection. So it has become the main duty of these Lords to contrive plans for creating hatred in the minds of the British people against the Indians and thereby persuading the British Parliament to raise a clamour for adopting repressive measures in this country very actively.

Genl.

9. Referring to the news that a Publicity Bureau will be established shortly in London, and that its duty

The Publicity Bureau in London.

is now reported to include the transmission of correct news to England about the happenings in India, refuting all unreasonable and unfavourable information that may reach there, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 4th April says:- Though it is stated that the articles contributed by its members among whom there will be many retired Indian officials and others experienced in Indian affairs, will not interfere with the politics of the eastern countries, it appears to us that the main duty of this Bureau will be to carry on a propaganda work regarding the 'prosperous' condition of India and the 'granduer' of the British Administration here, in opposition to the propaganda work of the Indians in foreign countries ventilating the defects of the administration here and the grievances of the Indians generally. We are afraid that more harm than good will result to India by work of such Bureau.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Police.

The Secret Police.

15. Referring to the reply of Sir Lionel Davidson to the resolution moved by Mr. A.S.Krishna Rao in the Madras Legislative Council for the reduction of the alltoment provided in the budget for a special Criminal Investigation Department Officer, the NAVASAKTI, of the 1st April, observes:- The Government have not yet realised that such confidential things will only breed mischief and discontent. The money of the poor people is squandered for nothing. Distrusting the people of the soil should be put a stop to at once.

(d) EDUCATION.

The Education Council.

19. In an English article under the heading, 'The Educational Counci' the MARGADARSI, of the 1st April, brings to the notice of the District Education Council to be established very shortly in Malabar, the necessity of making Elementary Education compulsory, of doing away with separate schools for the Panchamas, and of imparting vocational training to the pupils, and observes that for childred below twelve, mixed schools are most advisable. It writes:- "Nay, in Malabar compulsion is doubly necessary, because there are thousands of children here who do not go to school not because they are unwilling to go, but because they will be thrashed if they do. Within tem miles of the civilized town of Calicut, Cheruma boys have been beaten by higher caste men for the crime of attending school."

*   *   *   *   *

"The introduction of compulsion will settle once and for all the much discussed question of Panchama education, and settle it in the right way, that is by admitting Panchamas into ordinary schools, instead of segregating them in special schools as if their touch were leprous. The system of special schools for the Panchama is one of the biggest blunders the Government has committed -- no doubt it is a blunder committed with the best of intentions, but that does not make it less a blunder."

(k) General.

28. Adverting to the Government communique issued on this subject, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 31st March, observes:-

Allotment for the Russelkonda saw Mill.

As it is but unjust not to fulfil the terms of a contract after it has once been entered into, there does not appear to be any use in objecting to the grant of the certificate by the Governor. But the question is how the Government entered into this contract without the knowledge of any one. They do not seem to have called for tenders in this connection. In a latter addressed by Mr. Narasimha Raju to the Chief conservator of Forests, it is stated that the intention of the Government to grant permission to a European firm to establish a saw mill in Russelkonda when such permission was declined to the District Board of Ganjam two years ago, has caused discontent to the people. It is but natural for the people to grow suspicious in such circumstances. Are the European firms the only claimants for all big works of contract to be executed in India? How can a race that questions in the Parliament the action of India in resorting to Italy for the supply of steam-engines required by her in preference to those available in England, justify its own action in refusing to accord permission to the Indians to do a particular work and preferring a foreign firm? Are there no competent mechanics among the Indians in this

country to work saw mills? Even supposing that there are none, a sympathetic Government would have sent tolerably good machanics of this country to America for training in this art and started the work with their help. The starting of the mill could well have been postponed for a period of two years which may be required for the training of these workmen. Even if this idea did not strike the Government, they would at least have insisted on a condition being inserted in the contract that Indians machanics should be afforded necessary facilities for learning the work in the factory. But we are only dreaming. The English are carrying on the administration here only with the object of enabling their kith and kin to find out means of earning profit. We should see that such things do not recur and result in loss to our country. In these cases the only course for us is to publish the same in the papers. No trade or industry can go in this country without the help of the Indians. If such of the trade and industries as should legitimate be in the hands of the Indians leave theirs and go to the hands of the Europeans owing ~~ha~~ to partiality, the Indian workmen, clerks, dubashes and cartmen should strike work.

SUMMARY

Lord Chelmsford.

29. Referring to the administration of Lord Chelmsford, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 31st March, writes:- ~~(Of the many afflictions that India had to put up with as a result of the war, the~~) Lord Chelmsford's Viceroyalty worst affliction - The following events took place in his time -

(1) The Punjab atrocities:- Jallianwalla Bagh - He expressed no regret, offered no apology. -

(2) Political reforms - Though the reforms were introduced in his time, they are the result of the declarations of his predecessors about the legitimacy of Indian aspirations, and the advisibility of introducing fresh reforms - Therefore no thanks are due to him.

II. NAVASAKTI OF 1st April 1921.

Lord Chelmsford an elder brother, as it were of Lord Curzon - Suffering of India great -

Punjab atrocities - Martial law - Support of O'Dwyer's Acts - 'His soul will be immersed in perpetual hell for the most heinous sins he has committed'.

III. SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA of the 14th April 1921.

Lord Chelmsford not responsible for the introduction of reforms - They were due to the dispensation of god and the un-British conduct of responsible British Officers in India - Unity and harmony, it is hoped, will take the place 'Divide and rule' - The interests of India and 'England are interdependent - If England wants to exploit India for her own good, and if she wants to reduce Indians to be slaves in their own country, the greatness of the British empire is doomed-

SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA of the 8th April 1921

Lord Chelmsford played into the hands of subordinats and made room for autocracy - Supported Dyer and others who acts against principles of British righteousness - He had opportunities to rectify his errors, but he failed to do so.

IV. MANORAMA , of the 1st April 1921.

During Lord Chelmsford's time various changes and reforms were introduced in India - Indians have reason both to praise and blame him - It is doubtful whether the Punjab disorders and the repressive measures can be forgotten.

An open letter to Sir P. Tyagaraya chettiyar.

35. In an open letter addressed to Sir P. Tyagaraya Chettiyar in the TAMIL NADU of the 3rd April, the following observations occur among others:- To the children of BHARATA, SWARAJ is their birthright. But you and your party seem to think that SWARAJ consists of such empty titles as Diwan Bahadur and Rao Bahadur, which are not worth a pie.

36. Referring to Mr. Bomanji's request to suspend this movement for a period of four months, the TAMIL NADU, of the 3rd April observes:- How can Lord Reading settle the Khilafat question in accordance with the wishes of our Muslim brethren? We are witnessing how fairly the transferred subjects are being administered under the diarchic system in the Provinces! We are indeed surprised to find that Mr. Bomanji, a Congressman, should endeavour to bring some departments, chiefly Finance and Commerce Departments, in the Government of India under the control of the Indians. The Congress has been condemning the system of diarchy from the outset. It is highly regrettable that Mr. Bomanji should advice us to suspend non-co-operation forgetting the fact that complete SWARAJ is our goal.

The non-co-operation movement.

37. The TAMIL NADU, of the 3rd April, continues:- During the discussion in the Council on a question connected with the Medical Department, Dr. Rama Rao pointed out that mostly the whites were appointed to high offices in this department. This greatly enraged Sir Lionel Davidson, who never forgets his colour. He at once remarked that, if he was in order, he would not hesitate to say that the above statement was entirely false, but had to withdraw his words at the instance of the President. Even after this he has not grown wiser. Again during the discussion on the resolution to stop the grants given to missionaries for reforming the criminal tribes, when Mr. Govindaraghava Ayyar was reading out an extract from a Government order on the subject, Sir Davidson interfered and asked Mr. ~~Nyyar~~ Ayyar, wherefrom he was reading, and on being told in return that he was wrong in attempting to silence him by such questions, got awfully excited. With signs indicative of excessive wrath,
Will Sid Davidson herafter at least control his ran
Sir Davidson asked the President whether Mr. Ayyar's retor was in order but resumed his seat quietly as the President made no answer./ Will Sir Davidson herafter at least control his range and act proper

Government and the members of Legislative Councils.

With signs indicative of excessive wrath, Sir Davidson asked the President whether Mr. Ayyar's retort was in order but resumed his seat quietly as the President made no answer. Will Sir Lionel Davidson hereafter at least control his rage and act properly?

Deportation of Mr. Gandhi.

38. Referring to the reply of Mr. Montagu to the suggestion of Colonel Yate, that Mr. Gandhi should be deported from India inasmuch as he has stated that Bolshevik rule would be better than British rule in India, the TAMIL NADU, of the 3rd April, observes:- Mr. Gandhi has, for many years past, been expressing the view that instead of having a Government, which harasses the people by acts of injustice, fraud and cruelty, it is better to have no Government at all. This is exactly the view that is held by every member of the Congress who is a follower of Mr. Gandhi. So, if all those that are entertaining this opinion should be deported from India, then a majority of the people in this country will have to leave it.

The Savarkar Brothers.

39. Referring to the reply in the Council of State on behalf of the Government, that the Savarkar brothers could not be released as they were convicted for grave crimes such as murder, the TAMIL NADU, of the 3rd April, remarks:- We consider this reply to be a foolish one. Even supposing that they have really committed such offences, the desirable step for the Government will only be to show clemency and release them. Have they not conferred the post of Minister on Mr. Lala Hari Kishen Lal, who was once sentenced to transportation? We ask the Government whether even this much of statesmanship cannot be displayed in respect of the Savarkar brothers.

The SATYAGRAHA.

40. Remarking that, in the war of SWARAJ for India, the Punjab week forms the holy week, the TAMIL NADU, of the 3rd April, observes:- SATYAGRAHA dawned on India in the midst of atrocities such as widows crying for their deceased husbands and mothers for their children, boys hit with bullets yalling with pain respectable Indians crawling like worms on their bellies, men swooning away unable to bear the flogging and several patriots suffering in custody. There should be indications of grief all over the country from the ~~8thupto~~ 6th upto the 13th April 1921. No manner of public honour or respect should be paid to officials like the Governor during this week. Black flags should be unfurled all over. The rare views of Mr. Gandhi on non-co-operation should be ~~on non-co-operation should be~~ preached to the people. The Punjab massacre and the Khilafat injustice and the consequent woe of the Muslims should rend the heart of every Indian. Countless meetings should be held all over the country during this week and the minds of the people divested of their slavish spirit.

The TAMIL NADU, of the 3rd April writes elsewhere in this issue on the same subject as the following:- The Westerners whom we characterise as Atheists and Materialists gladly come forward to sacrifice their lives for the sake of liberty and honour, whereas we who are the descendants of ~~rishis~~ RISHIS are prepared to sacrifice our self-respect, honour and liberty for preserving our life. We have become cowards. If, realising our soul-force, we are prepared to sacrifice our body, wealth and soul for the sake of liberty, that very instant the fetters of our slavery will be cut in twain. So if we, taking to truth as our weapon and sacrifice as the shield, begin the war of ~~xxx~~ passive resistance, the Goddess of Liberty, will ere long appear in the land of Bharata.

41. (SUMMARY) DESABHAKTAN OF THE 2nd April 1921.

Administration of Lord Chelmsford.

Reference to the Punjab atrocities and the evil Deeds of Dyer and O'Dwyer - 'India can ill-afford to have you any longer' -

SWADESABHIMANI of the 8th April 1921.

Lord Chelmsford a military officer originally - Previous military instincts asserted themselves. - Press Deputation on the outbreak of the war - His want of faith in the journalists - The policy of Lord Chelmsford consisted in giving nothing to the people and even when something had to be granted there would be curtailment and recurtailment at every step and attempts of avoiding the grant altogether. As long as the Punjab affair stands recorded in history the administration of Lord Chelmsford and of the bureaucracy does not require any further certificate of merit.

44. The Government and non-co-operation.

Concluding from the news of the District Magistrate of Fatepur having called upon one Munshi Bairava Sahay to show cause why he should not be dismissed from service for being the brother of a non-co-operator, that the bureaucrats have begun to take action on the relations of non-co-operators also, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 4th April, remarks:- The Munshi may, if he likes, say that he does not support the views of his brother; but is it possible for him to disown the relationship? Lord Reading has given a note of warning to the authorities that the prestige of the British Administration of justice should not be affected in any way. If he comes to know of this order, it will become manifest how unrighteously the bureaucrats in this country are administering British justice.

47. An article under the heading "non-co-operation" in the MARGADARSI, of the 1st April, points out that neither Indian

Princes nor the depressed classes will be willing to remain under an Indian Republic,

NON-CO-OPERATION.

refers to the hardships suffered by the depressed classes ~~that the depressed classes~~ ~~in~~ [under the] Indian bureaucrats of the past, remarks that it is not at all surprising that the depressed classes in India love the English more than their fellow oppressors, because these latter have been treating them in a manner far worse than the treatment [accorded by Englishmen to the present non-co-operators.] (~~them in a manner far worse than the treatment~~) accorded by Englishmen to the present non-co-operators, and observes that the ~~paper~~ [prayer] of the depressed classes is that the English connection with India should not cease until Indians are heartily prepared to accept the brotherhood of Man.

50. A correspondent to the DESABHIMANI, of the 13th March,

Non-co-operation and women.

recommends the non-co-operation movement to the acceptance of women and says that the great weapon of non-co-operation was tried by the Americans against the English Government that by the help of this weapon alone, all countries have been able to drink the nectar of freedom, and that it is not right on the part of women to be indifferent. He requests them to play their part in making the movement a success, and concludes with the exhortation:-"Ascend the steps of SWARAJ. Secure freedom to India, fame to yourselves, happiness to your sons, and disgrace to our rulers."

53. Referring to the way in which 'the moderates speak

The moderates.

derisively about the non-co-operation movement,' the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 6th April, observes in a note:- The Moderates may hold that the methods of non-co-operation are not of much use. But it is wrong on their part to hold up

the non-violent non-co-operation movement to ridicule both in the Legislative Councils and in the presence of the authorities. It is a matter for regret that the moderates, instead of joining hands with Messrs. Gandhi, Das, Nehru, and Lajput Rai, shoudd waste their time in condemning their acts and in ridiculing them. In the opinion of Mr. Lajput Rai, the moderates that have joined the bureaucracy will be considered traitors to the country in the National court of Justice. Whatever may be the humiliation to which the people are subjected, the moderates ask us to get into the Legislative Councils. Of what use are these Councils? Though the Ministers are not doing any good, they are siding with the authorities and working against the people. The action of the Ministers in the Bengal Legislative Council and the opposition of the members are instances to the point. No greater evidence than this is necessary for finding out the value of the Reforms. The Madras Legislative Counci, by passing many worthless resolutions has receded a century behind. Under these circumstances, the help rendered by the moderates to those who try to wreck the Nationalist movement can be only traitorous to the country.

58. Mr. Gandhi's advice. Adverting to the Brahman, non-Brahman problem in the Madras Presidency and Mr. Gandhi's advice with regard to this matter, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 11th April observes:- It is only this movement that is still lending support to the bureaucracy. This is not a religious or social problem. It is entirely a political one. It is based on a desire for power or and craving for appointments under the Government. That is why this does not show itself outside the percincts of Government offices and Legislative Councils. Non-co-operation is the best remedy for it. It has completely removed from the minds of the masses all germs of this for it. It has completely removed from the minds of the masses all germs of this movement.

If all the Brahmans adopt non-co-operation, it will be possible to eradicate these germs even from the Legislative Councils.

65. Referring to the communique issued by the Madras Government regarding the the imprisonment of Mr.

Repression in Malabar.

Yakub Hasan and others, the LOKAPRAKASAM, of the 28th March, reproduces in substance the remarks of the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 22nd March, reported on page 438 of Report No.15 adds:- "Such inconsistent actions of the Government are very deplorable. So far as Malabar is concerned, as there was no necessity for such high-handed action there. Both parties must inevitably reap the fruits of this action."

67. In a leading article under the heading 'Our Viceroys', the KERALA PATRIKA, of the 2nd April, writes:- During

Our Viceroys.

the administration of Lord Chelmsford India never enjoyed peace. The cause of this unrest must be attributed for the greater part to the World War. The dislocation of trade as a result of the war, the high prices of the necessaries of life and the scarcity of foodstuffs created great unrest amongst the people and no man could have allayed this unrest. We should not therefore find fault with the adminis-trators but rather congratulate them for seeing that matters did not grow worse. But considering another side of the cause of the unrest during the last five years, it must be admitted that some important parts of the administrative machinery were rotten. The passing of the Rowlatt Act to crown the repressive measures in India and the consequent adoption of the SATYAGRAHA movement by a certain section of the people under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, and the Punjab atrocities which followed, are things which will never be affaced from the minds of Indians. And it should specially be remembered that the present agitation in the country is the result of these repressive measures and acts of repression. Though some people in India have provoked

the Government to do such acts, the administrators could have quieted them without resorting to such acts. (~~Though some people in India have provoked the Government to do such acts, the administrators could have quieted them without resorting to such Acts.~~) Though in this manner during the administration of His Lordship, some acts prejudicial to the welfare of the people were done in India, it should be recorded with satisfaction that Lord Chelmsford has worked hard for securing to India the powers of administration which she now enjoys. Had it not been for his efforts, the Secretary of State would not have visited India and she would not have so soon received these privileges. Hence His Lordship's name will be remembered in India for all time.

Referring to the retiring Viceroy, the KERALA SANCHARI, of the 6th April writes, in a strain more or less similar to that of the KERALA PATRIKA reported above. The paper also hopes that Lord Reading's administration will be beneficial to India, that he will quell the present unrest in the country by a skilful handling of the situation, that he will do everything necessary to attain this object, that he will gradually repeal all repressive laws, that he will make use of the Royal prerogative to pardon those who are convicted under these laws and that the non-co-operators will temporarily stop their work and co-operate with the Government in future and observes that so far as can be expected from the reported excellent qualities of Lord Reading, it is likely that the unrest in India will disappear and that peace and contentment will prevail in the country.

Writing on the same subject, the YOGAKSHEMAM, of the 1st April, while deprecating hasty condemnation of Lord Chelmsford's administration, thinks, that on the whole, Lord Chelmsford was not able to earn in any great measure the gratitude of Indians though by his association with the new Indian Reforms, his name

deserves an important place in the history of India. The article reviews the difficulties of the present sitaation in India, and observes that there is anxious expectancy in the minds of people to see whether Lord Reading will not have the ability, power and influence to allay the existing unrest in the country and to govern India agreeably to the wishes of Indians.

The success of non-co-operation.

68. In an article under the heading, 'the success of non-co-operation' the VEERAKERALAM, of the 23rd, March, Writes:- The non-co-operators continue to meet with unprecedented success in British India. While the Duke of Connaught, who visited India as the representative of His Majesty, and the Viceroy declare in one part of India that the period of rule by force has gone for ever and that the future prosperity of the country lies in mutual co-operation, in another part of the country some other Englishmen are cruelly resorting to repression contrary to British justice and to their own safety. Lord Willingdon, who during his visit to Travancore, advised His highness the Maharaja to be pleased to accord special treatment to the members of the community to which he and his wife belonged, appears to be one of such Englishmen. The paper then refers to acts of repression followed by Lord Willingdon, from the time of the externment of Mrs. Besant from Bombay to the encouragement given to the Collector of Malabar to imprison leaders of the people and says:- Let us see what the result of this will be. The patience of the people is being exhausted. Agitation in the country increases and the administration of the country becomes more and more difficult. The paper then quotes the opinion of some District Magistrates to show the admitted force of the opposite party, for example, the conduct the trials of even insignificant leaders and remarks. The Government steadily fanning the foolish notion

that they can govern the country by might, have now come to such a pitiable pass. How long can this go on? What is the remedy for this ? Has it come to this that they do not pay any heed even to the advice of the Duke of Connaught?

70. The MUKBIR-i-DAKHAN of the 30th March, referring to the view expressed by Sir William Vincent in the Council of State regarding the present dangerous situation created by the non-co-operation movement, concludes that the Government now desire to adopt a repressive policy.

The problem of non-co-operation and the Council of State.

NCS

The writer agrees with Mr. Gandhi's principles, but entirely differs from him in the procedure he has adopted which has adversly affected the public and students, and remarks that Mr. Gandhi's only appreciable attempt to benefit the public is that he has turned the attention of women, etc., to spinning and weaving. Our present dangerous policy against the Government will tomorrow be adopted against ourselves. On the slightest pretext Hindus and Muslims will endeavour to get the better of the other community. In these circumstances some foreign power or other will step in and conquer them. Then they will awake from their troubled aleep and their eyes will be opened.

73. The JARIDA-i-ROZGAR, of the 7th April, concurring in the statement of the MADRAS MAIL that the supporters of the non-co-operation movement have started making practical endeavour to excite uneducated people by misrepresentations and that it is necessary that preventive measures should be adopted, observes that it matters little whether Government take preventive measures or not, but the Government should devise means of warning the public against false rumours, and suggests that it is incumbent on the Collectors of the districts to initiate some practical plan by spending a lump sum of money from the allotment made, and thereby save poor people from ruining

The views of the MADRAS MAIL on non-co-operation.

NCS

ive poor people from ruining their characters by the white lies of non-co-operat

For the week ending 23rd Apbil 1921.

No.17 of 1921.

ENGLISH PAPERS ....NIL.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

Indians in South Africa.

2. Anent the news that the Hon'ble Mr. Sbinivasa Sastriyar has expressed his inability to respond to the invitation of the Executive Committee of the National Conference of South Africa to visit the place, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 5th April, remarks that this is really fortunate for the Indians there and adds:- South Africa has acquired its freedom and England has no power over the internal affairs of the colony. So the only course is to gain the Government of India over to our side and the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri will be of no use in this respect. He is one of the disciples of the Government of India. He is being favoured by the Government only for the purpose of making him act on their ew words, but they will never act on his. This matter should be accomplished only by the pressure of the people of India.

Referring to this subject, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 8th April, observes:- We are in a way glad of Mr. Sastriyar's inability to go to South Africa. But if the Government of India shoud content themselves with merely condemning the injustice committed by the whites in regard to the Indians there, we fear that the latter will again take to passive resistance. It is only the selfishness of the British Government that was made them tolerate, for a long time, the injustice done by a few whites in South Africa.

Referring to the report of the committee appointed to inquire into the condition of Asiatics in South Africa, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 15th April, remarks that there is not even one recommendation in it favourable to the Indians and

the Asiatics, and adds:- A pretence is made therein of discussing the position of both the whites and the Asiatics and arriving at an impartial decision. Instead of brushing aside altogether the aspersions cast on the Indians, a show is made of investigating them and trying to save us therefrom. The arguments adduced in this connexion are such as to make a stranger believe that these aspersions may perhaps be true. The report does not aim at improving the condition of our countrymen or at suggesting the repeal of the cruel laws which are against their interests or are likely to cause irremediable hardships to them. Sir Benjamin Robertson is reported to have stated before the committee that neither the British Government nor the Government of India were prepared to press for the deletion of the rule that Asiatics should not acquire landed property in the colony in any other place than what has been set apart for them. Is there any law preventing the whites from acquiring land in India? If so, how can this right be denied to Indians even within the Empire? The report recommends the construction of habitations outside the town for the Indians to live and in and carry on trade. Will this recommendation be given effect to after we acquire SWARAJ? It is again recommended that Indians places of business should be located away from those of Europeans. The committee evidently want to prevent our countrymen gaining over even a few European grocers in commercial competition. Can we adopt the same king of safeguard in India and rule that Europeans places of business should ~~be~~ not be located near the Indians? The recommendations of the committee regarding the grant of licenses to carry on trade make it very clear that they ~~value~~ have not the least goodwill towards the trade of India. Their report in effect prevents further emigration of Asiatics into the colony and makes it incumbent on those already there to live in separate quarters and be content with petty trade among themselves. A paper recently observed that ~~whether~~ whenever the people of a country raised a cry against an existing

grievance, a committee of inquiry used to be appointed so as to make the people forget the matter; but this feature of committees of inquiry seems to apply on in the case of other countries but not in that of India. It ill not be unreasonable to say that such committees are appointed in this country only to tighten of the people and to increase their hardships.

The DESABHAKTAN of the 16th April, also views that the report is full of the 'white creed' and observes;- As long as this creed predominates, how can we expect justice from committees appointed by the whites? History has it that the Europeans began to colonies in other countries one or two centuries ago and, hunting down the people there, took possession of these countries ago and, hunting down the people there, took possession of those cuntries. It is the same civilized spirit underlying this attitude that is reflected in this report. The very fact that even the representative of the Government of India was for the retention of the law prohibiting the colonization of Asiatics except in prescribed areas indicates that the Government of India too want the Indians only to be the slaves of their white brethren in South Africa and are not willing to give them an equal status with the whites.

The condition of East Africa.

4. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 9th April, observes:- The condition of the natives of East Africa after it has come under the British rule has become far worse than before. A single sentence appearing in a book written on the "Slaves of Great Britain" by the Bishop of Zanzibar to the effect that the lazy black fellows there should be kicked to do work, is sufficient to denote accurately the kindness of the Englishmen.

II.HOME ADMINISTRATION

(a) Police.

The shooting at Kumbakonam.

15. Referring to the complaint made that the shooting of a crowd at Kumbakonam by the Police was without sufficient excuse and was neither in accordance with the rules nor authorised by the Magistrate, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 5th April, remarks: It is becoming usual for the Police to shoot down people as they like, on the strength of their having firearms in their hands. Though there are rules regarding the circumstances in which and the limitations subject to which fire may be opened upon a crowd, which is likely to disturb the public peace, the Police have always been ignoring these rules. Instead of checking the Police for this, the Provincial Governments issue communiques justifying their conduct, relying upon the information given by the very officials who transgress the rules. If the complaint made about the shooting at Kumbakonam is true, the authorities who profess to have secured life and property, may not have even that prestige hereafter. The correspondent of the MADRAS MAIL attributes the shooting to the crowd having pelted the police with stones. Even if this were true, no official has the power to open fire. If the Police officials had really apprehended danger to their life, why could not they have got into the station and bolted themselves in? Though the department does not hold any inquiry in this matter, it is very necessary that a public inquiry should be made and the truth ascertained.

(b) Courts.

The administration of justice in India.

16. Referring to the punishment of imprisonment for one day and a fine of Rs.75 inflicted on a soldier, who was accused of stealing some jewels from a nurse, the DESA-

BHAKTAN of the 7th April, remarks:- We are not sorry that this offender was given such a meagre punishment. But we wish to point out that, while, in the South, a soldier accused of theft is punished with imprisonment for a day, a Sikh warrior in the north has been imprisoned for 730 days for the offence of having possessed a sword. We convey this news to Lord Reading who~~(offence of haiving possessed a)~~ says that ~~xxxx~~ justice and sympathy are the two precious gems in the diadem of righteous rule.

(e) LOCAL AND MUNICIPAL.

Mr. Gandhi and the municipalities.

19. Expressing the hope that the municipalities in the Tamil country would follow the procedure adopted by those in the Telugu country and present addresses of welcome to Mr. Gandhi during his ensuing visit, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 9th April, remarks that it is essential that local self governing institutions, which are mostly acting according to the wishes of the authorities, should hereafter at least recognise clearly their duties and privileges and act in conformity with the same.

(h) Railways.

Bribery on the Indian Railways.

27. Remarking that the reply given on behalf of Government to the question of bribery rampant throughout the Railways in India is futile, the SWADESABHIMANI, of the 25th March, makes the following observations:- What earthly use does it serve to say that people do not come forward to put an end to bribery when a highly-paid supervising agency has been employed for the purpose at the head? It was really shameful on the part of Sir George Barnes to have said that it is the Indian and not the European stationmasters that show any partiality to Europeans. There is no one to question the

European stationmaster, from whom the Europeans get, as a matter of course, more conveniences than necessary. If the Indian stationmasterd do not provide usuch conveniences than necessary. If the Indian station masterd do not provide such conveniences to the Europeans, they have invariably to submit to abuses, kickd and unfavourable reports to their superior officers. If, under these circumstances, the Indian stationmasters, without caring for the requirements of the Indians, care only for those of the Europeans, should it not be deemed that it is the indiscretion of the higher authorities that is the main cause of this?

(k) General.

30. The SWADESMITRAN, of the 7th April, refers to the observance of the SATYAGRAHA day and remarks:- Though

The SATYAGRAHA DAY.

the MAHATMA, who started the idea of this sacrifice two years ago, had only the repeal of the Rowlatt Act as his object then, he has made the people observe the principle in their daily duties, seeing that SATYAGRAHA agrees with the spiritual nature of the Indian and that he has taken an immense liking for it. As a result of this, India is getting prepared to attain the loftiest position in the world. It has made people get rid of fear and feel confident of victory. It may be noted tat this feature of SATYAGRAHA was clearly pointed out by the MAHATMA in his address at Masulipatam. We used to devote our primary attention to relieve the affliction caused to patriots. We now attach only a secondary importance to it and direct our foremost attention to the spirit of SATYAGRAHA. The reason for this is only a feeling of confidence that now exists in the minds of the people that their cause is just and will win. The fact of one municipality discarding the Government grant and of another presenting an address to MAHATMA Gandhi is an indication of this feeling. If such a spirit is actuating even municipalities

is actuating even municipalities, which never used to cross the line marked by the bureaucrats who controlled them, we can infer to what extent the principle has spread among others.

31. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 5th April, contains the following stray comments on different subject:- The arrest of seven more Khilafat workers in North Malabar and the search of the Khilafat office there show that the authorities are taking care to see that the fire of patriotism that has appeared in Malabar is not extinguished and are even fanning it.

Stray notes.

The DESABHAKTAN of the 12th April, has the following comments on a variety of subjects:-cCertain mysteries prior to the resolution of the Hin'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastriyar for the appointment of a committee to repeal the repressive laws in India, have now been revealed by the London Correspondent to the INDEPENDENT. It appears that many were of opinion that the repeal of the Rowlatt Act should be announced by the Duke of Connaught during his visit; but it was Mr. Montagu's wish that, if the repeal was attributed to the endeavours of the members of the Legislative Assembly the latter will gain in importance and Mr. Lloyd George, who is well versed in the Machiavellian art, also appears to have supported this view. Is the Legislative Assembly to attain prestige by such tactics?

Mr. O. Thanikachalam Chettiyar succeeded in getting a resolution passed in the local Legislative Council, that, for a period of five years, none but non-Brahmans should be appointed to any office in the Judicial Department. It is no doubt improper to exclude Brahmans from Government Service on account of their birth. However, we are thankful to Mr. Chettiyar for having afforded an opportunity at least to one community, to desist fom co-operating with the Government.

32. Referring to the question asked in the House of Commons by one member whether it is fair on the part of the Government of India to have ordered for motors from Italy to the Value of £70,000 and whether the object of the Government is to get things where they are available ta at the cheapest rate or to help the British labourers with work, the DESABHAKTAN of the 5th April, says:- Even the ordinary man knows that the object of the Government of India is only the latter. But it is only on account of the absolute devotion paid by Englishmen to lucre that it is mentioned openly like this without any sense of shame. In reply to the above question Mr. Montagu said that the Government of India had to care for the interests of the Indian taxpayer, that the order placed with Italy was only to meet an emergency and that the High Commissioner would afford proper facilities for British merchants tendering for the supply of motor carriages that may be further required. The Indian taxpayers will be grateful to Mr. Montagu for evincing at least this much of love for them. But did he spend any thought over what the Indians would think of his not having bestowed attention on the possibility of manufacturing motors in India? The Indians have perhaps to be ever paying taxes only for securing work for the British merchants and workmen.

The policy of the Government of India.

35. Adverting to the resolution recently passed by the All-India Congress Committee at Bezwada about the introduction of a large number of spinning wheels in the country the DESABHAKTAN, of the 8th April, observes:- If we are to be saved from famine and pestilence, the weaving industry should be revived and the annual drain of about 60 crores of rupees which the Lancashire merchants and other Englishmen are causing to India should be put a stop to. If we ourselves take to the cleaning spinning and weaving of the cotton grown in

The spinning wheel.

our country, with ut selling it to foreign capitalists, we will get rid of our economic slavery in a way which will be the first step towards getting rid of our political bondage. The first outturn from our looms will no doubt be crude and if we freely take to it as the fit gift of the goddess of Liberty, we will very soon become recipients of her benediction. If, deferring for the present, the question of convenience or fineness, the whole country begins to wear coarse clothing from head to foot, is there aby better illustration needed to show to oursleves and to the world at large the resolute nature of our determination? If this resolve takes posession of our minds, to day and if England also made to realise it, is there any doubt that liberty will be ours the very next day?

Mr. Gandhi at Madras.

36. Referring to this speech, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 9th April, observes: Just as in the fight between two rams the fox that was near got the benefit, the bureaucrats feather their nests in the struggle between the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans. In the present administration our people are immersed in misery suffering from want of sufficient food and clothing, and it is to get rid of this misery that we strive to attain Swaraj. The spinning wheel is capable of putting an end to this misery, and it is powerful enough to make the British fulfil our wishes. More than half the cost of English articles sold in India pertains to clothing. (and it is to get rid of this misery that we strive to attain SWARAJ. The spinning wheel is capable of putting an end to this misery and it is powerful enough to make the British fulfil our wishes.) If we make them realise that the trade of the English in cloth will suffer, they will under the apprehension that the trade relations by means of our goodwill; or they may even give up India altogether thinking that it is not worth having after

their trade with her is lost. Our moderate friends by virtue of their power as Ministers, without thinking of helping those who are striving to put an end to the pernicious habit of drining among the people are causing all manner of obstructions to them. What if the abkari revenue is abandoned and all unnecessary items of expenditure given up? They are not inclined to do so. We should therefore, show to them that the people attach greater importance to the welfare of the public than to the amenities of these officials and their friends and teach them a lesson by doing away with the Abkari revenue which is looked upon by them as the mainstay for the exercise of their authority. If we ourselves manufacture the clothing required for us and get rid our of the drink evil, there is little doubt that the administration will get paralized of its own accord.

41. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 11th April, observes in a leader under this heading:-

"The 13th April".

It was on this day two years ago that the Government of British India in the guise of Dyer mercilessly shot down our brethren in the Punjab, who had assembled peacefully at the Jallianwalla Bagh. It was on this day that the fact, that we are treated worse than brutes in our country, was made clear to the world and ourselves. Both before and after this the British authorities and hard-hearted Indians obeying their commands implicitly have committed great cruelties in our country! The English officials blew up at the month of the cannon the heroes that waged a war in 1857 for the purpose of freeing the country from the English rule and hoisting the flag of liberty. They hanged them like murderers, suffocated them in dark air-tight rooms and tortured them in several ways. After the new agitation for SWARAJ was started, the authorities and their disciples have shot down Indians in a number of places on some pretext or other. But all these atrocities can be explained away by charging the people with

some false offence. No such reason can, however, be assigned in the case of the murder at Jallianwalla. Indian blood was shed freely there! All people -- young and old, men and women, Hindus and Muhammadans -- lost their innocent lives without any difference! The innocent children of mother Bharata were, on that day shot down like birds in her presence, while she has looking helplessly. But that blood has not gone in vain. That stream of blood has washed away the sins and indifference of the sons of Bharata and, rousing them from their slumber, made them realise their condition and feel that they will be ruined for ever if they do not wake up. The cry is raised on that day is still ringing throughout the world and will not abate until we acquire liberty. Its pitch will, on the other hand, go on increasing. If we realise our dependent condition with the force with which we should do it, we will not celebrate any feast until SWARAJ is secured for the country and we will apply all our zeal and energy to the work of acquiring that SWARAJ.

The Indian Civil Service.

42. With reference to the observation recently made by Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons, that the question of crediting to the Provident fund the Pensionary contribution till now deducted from the salary of the members of the Indian Civil Service, with retrospective effect from the beginning of their service instead of from the year 1919 as ~~originallty~~ originally proposed, is under consideration, the SWADESAMITRAN, of th the 12th April observes:- If the arrangement of refunding the contribution from the very beginning of service should come into force, the financial resources of India which are already weak will become crippled still further. This will be an act of very great injustice. The Indian Civil Service men are already drawing higher salaries than the officers of any other county in the world. Exchange compensation was recently

allowed to them. Then their salaries were increased and again they had liberal grants towards family pensions. Has Indian money no value?

46. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 14th April, publishes a communication from a correspondent who describes the non-co-operation movement as a war between the people and the Government and pities the condition of the latter, who are said to be seeking the support of their officials, the moderates and the teachers and using the weapons of falsehood, slavishness and drink to carry out this war, while the people rely only upon peaceful methods.

The Government and non-co-operation.

The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 9th April, says in its leader:- The new movement has been started in order to free the country from its present horribly wretched condition and reinstate it in its proper place. .. .. .. As stated by Mr. Gandhi, the municipalities contain the seeds of SWARAJ. But they have hitherto been caught in the machinery of the Government and have been living a spiritless life, never breathing the air of independence. But since the wind of non-co-operation began to blow, these institutions have passed into a new life. The fact that Municipal council at Salem did not present a welcome address to His Excellency the Governor and that the Municipal Councils in the Telugu Districts honoured the national leader, has firmly convinced us that a true national consciousness had dawned over the country. We hope that municpal Councils will no longer rest satisfied with getting the latrines cleaned, but will share in a liberal national life and help to secure SWARAJ speedily.

The MALAYALI, of the 16th April describes in glowing terms the virtues of non-co-operation, says there is no better means for cultivating non-violence, truth, Self-respect, renunciation of pomps, patriotism and such other noble qualities

in the minds of the people at large than this movement. Referring to the suggestion of Lord Ampthill that Mr. Gandhi should be imprisoned, the paper remarks:- "It is indeed men of this creed that are fit to rule India for India's good!" It further observes that there is no doubt whatever that, if the Congress after establishing branch committees, panchayat courts, national schools and volunteer bands in every village should inform the Government of the will of the people, the Government must yield to it. ~~(The Article poits out that the people , the Government must yield to it)~~ The article points out that the people of Native States are in duty bound to encourage and support the Mahatma in his endeavours to gain SWARAJ for India, for when India rises the Native States must rise also. "To remain apart will be ruinous."

48. A correspondent to the DESABHIMANI, of the 3rd April, writes under this heading:- A life of freedom. The duty of the citizens. India has unselfishly done her duty by saving the Empire in the late war even at some sacrifice. But she was not adequately recompensed for her trouble. The principle of self-determination applied to small nations has not been applied to us. But the forces of freedom prevailing all the world ever all the world over are spreading in India. This spread will naturally increase in proportion as the principles of righteousness are repressed. The authorities, instead of satisfying the reasonable aspirations of the people, have set about enforcing repressive laws. A repressive policy only makes the attainment of freedom easy. The futility of repression is evidenced by the fact that the Congress met at Amritsar itself, which has suffered much. It has become the practice with the Government to enforce repressive laws on the one hand and to grant reforms on the other. Circumstances have now changed so much so that the authorities have seen the futility of such policy. The whole attention of the people

is now centred on the Indians that suffered unbearable wrongs, and nobody is enthusiastic about the reforms. Being morally slavish, no opportunity is afforded for the development of our national soul. Though we have had many an advantage under the British rule, it is not our ideal that we should remain under it for ever.

The duty of women: SWARAJ in one year.

49. In an article under this heading, a correspondent to the DESABHIMANI, of the 3rd April, writes:- If we went SWARAJ, the spinning wheel is our only refuge. Those who are infatuated by western civilisation, who have been brought up independence from their very brith, and who are habituated to slavery, amy say otherwise. Can the members of the Legislative Councils, who are inured to slavery raise their voice on behalf of freedom? Will those who fear may be thrown out of their offices and who are servile, fight for SWARAJ? It is false that they who are mere mutes, and whose only object in life is their own maintenance, will fight for us. The Legislative Councils are farces. Their resolutions are harmful to the people. What kind of people are the rulers? If they were men who worked for the good of the people, there would have been no necessity for the events that happened hitherto. They used their weapon against Mr. Paranpy for fear that his endeavour to put down drinking at Nagpur may bring loss to them. They looked to their own interests and not to those of the people. Drinking is loyalty and to give it up is disloyalty. It is said that those who preach teetotalism are disloyal. This is the policy of the bureaucratic Government. Under British rule, our valour has vanished, indigenous industries and nationalistic spirit have declined, patriotism is deemed the heaven newly acquired. The JUSTICE party find happiness in this. New taxes have been imposed. If the first wife of

of Vaikunta, the Goddess of Adversity (?) had not taken hold of the Government, they would not have grown greedy. The helplessness and weakness of our Ministers are a help to this disease of greedy. ~~The help~~ The sovereign remedy for this is non-co-operation for this is non-co-operation. The chief items of Mr. Gandhi's Movement are SWADESHI and boycott. He has taken a vow. Women must amke up their minds to help to carry it out, by helping the men.

51. The HITAKARINI, of the 11th April, refers to the enforcement of section 124-A Indian Penal Code, against Mr. Joshi on his way to Bezwada to attend the meeting of the All India Congress Committee, and remarks:- We hear that in this manner, the ~~(non-co-operation propagandists)~~ non-co-operation propagandists who work with universal peace as their ideal are subjected to repression every day. Does it not follow from this that the demons of authority are endeavouring to paid the advocates of peace willingly, spread unrest in the country, and represent to Government that non-co-operators are anarchists. Is this the characteriste of the maintainers of peace?

Repression.

In a leading article under the heading 'Repression', the Manorama, of the 15th April, refers with regret to the policy of repression followed by the Governmnt in all parts of India, points out that such a policy tends to divide the people and the Government into two opposing camps and to make co-operation impossible. For instance it refers to the increase in the non-co-operation camp in Malabar after the imprisonment of Mr. Yakub Hasan and others (says according to a report 120 Congress Committees with a membership of nearly eleven thousand have been established in Malabar), quotes the opinion of Lord Grey that it will not be possible to conduct the administration of a country by force alone and that it will be difficult to

to conduct the administration of a country if it does not meet ~~with~~ with the approbation of the people, and says:- Had the rulers in India been conducting the adinistration of the country bearing in mind Lord Grey's views the non-co-operation movement would not have come into existence in India. The people are, as pointed out by us on several previous occasions, discontented (x) nothing more need be done to defeat the non-co-operation movement. It is to be hoped that the new Viceroy who is studying the present condition of India willnot fail to realise this.

Referring to the steps proposed to be taken by the Government of India for combating non-co-operation as seen from William Vincent's speech in the Legislative Assembly, the <u>Kerala patrika</u>, of the 16th April, says:- Nearly all that the Government of India have said is right from top to bottom. Nobody having a realknolwledge of the state of affairs will deny that the efforts of the non-co-operators and the Khilafat workers are productive of evil. All men with common sense will realise what the consequences will be if the uneducated Moplahs, for instances, are made to believe that the Government are doing harm to their religion. Hence there is no doubt that the Government(are doing harm) have done well in ~~doing~~ trying to impede the work of these people. They ought to have begun a little earlier. All people who are not non-co-operators should be ready to help the Government. Both the Government officials and the leaders of the people (xx) by holding public meetings in all parts of the country and bringing home to them the evils of this movement.

If the Madras Government act up to the advice of the Government of India by introducing a tenancy law, the agitation amongst the people of Malabar will nearly subside. This appears to be an excellent opportunity for passing a Malabar Tenancy, law.

(x) as a result of poverty, want of freedom in several respects and of acts of repression. If attempts are made to remove this discontent

(xx) should work jointly for removing the misunderstandings amongst the people

52. Writing about the subject of the release of the Savarkar

The Savarkar Brothers.

brothers, the HITAKARINI, of the 11th April, regards the reply of the Government in the Council of State that they were not convicted for a political offence, but were punished under ordinary laws, as "ridiculour". It says that a political offender might be punished under any laws. Still, he is a politifal offender and there is no meaning in not granting them the pardon contemplated in His Majesty's proclamation. His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught adivsed that the past should be forgetten. The conduct of the Government of India and that of the Bombay Government show what regard they have paid the advice. Those who have disregarded the proclamation of His Majesty cannot find the words of the Duke pleasant. Who will not despise the policy of the rulers who are not pure in thought, word and deed. Even His Majesty the King Emperor will not attempt to justify it.

55. Writing about the speech of Lord Reading delivered at

The same old story.

Lahore, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 18th April, observes in its leader:- Those who were expecting that Lord Reading would do his best in fulfilling the wishes of the people, could not but feel utterly disappointed at the speech delivered by His Excellency at Lahore. That he should, instead of co-operating with the people in their attempt s to win SWARAJ, give expression to such sentiments as are ordinarily expressed by persons like Sir William Vincent, is most regrettable. Like His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, Lord Reading is asking the people to forget the past. The regret expressed in the Council by Sir William Vincent satisfied Lord Reading. The consent given by the Government to the payment of the same amount of compensation to the Indians who lost their lives in Jallianwallah as that paid to the Europeans was , in the opinion of Lord Reading, all that is necessary to be done as regards the Punjab affair. To say this

it does not require such renowned persons like Lord Reading. The Punjab problem is not one which is connected with rupees, annas and pies. It is one which cencerns with the freedom of the people. The long and short of the present problem is this, -- should the administration be carried on after the wishes of the people or should it be conducted by the use of such repressive laws as take away the freedom of the people? The authorities responsible for the Jallianwallah Bagh massacre wanted to cow the people by employing brute force. Did the Punjab and the Indian Governments, who gave room for the perpetration of such acts, express their repentence whole-heartedly? The country thinks that they have not. The authorities authors of the Punjab tragedy are still receiving pensions from the Indian money. The services of many of the Punjab authorities were recently recognised by the presentation of the titles. Lord Chelmsford , the opponent of popular wishes, has been made a Viscount.Prestige is still prevailing in the country. Such being the case, how is it possible to to forget the past? All hope of solving the Khilafat problem is lost. There is no use blaming Lord Reading for not doing what is not possible for ordinary persons to do. Those who expected much from him were mistaken. SWARAJ can undoutedly be gained throught self-effort alone. Forgetting that fact, if one runs after a mariage, one's attempts will prove fruitless.

61. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 8th April, publishes in Telugu an open letter subscribed by four persons and addressed to Sir P. Tyagaroya Chetti and the Hon'ble Ramarayaningar in which they denounce their action in voting against Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao's resolution about the NAZARANA payable on ayacut lands, and express their regret for having elected them to the Council.

An open letter.

63. The SAMPADA ABHYUDAYA, of the 18th April, in a leading article under this headline expresses its regret at the

Emergency Committee.

circular reported to have been issued by Lord Hamilton and others for the formation of an Emergency Committee in England and proceeds to observe thus:- It is not that an Emergency Committee should not be formed. Such committees should be instituted not only in England but in every town in India as well. Such among the British and the Indians as cast off the principles of the British Righteousness should be mended. Care should be taken to see that neither the British nor the Indians go astray-for from the path of righteousness. To this end, Vigilance Committee also should be instituted in addition. As soon as mistakes are committed, they should be rectified. It should be the duty of these committees to see that the Indians themselves do not put any obstacles in the way of the mutual good-feeling that ought to subsist between the Indians and the British. We trust that Lord Redding and all the other provincial heads would take necessary steps to bring about that result.

Native States and the Congress.

69. In the course of an article pleading thenecessity of the establishing a branch of the Indian National Congress in Travancore, the MALAYALI, of the 9th April, remarks:- It cannot be forgotten that the British Government through the Resident is unnecessarily interfering in the affairs of Travancore and trying to make responsible Government impossible of realisation." In another article about the externment of Mr. Satyamurti from Pudukottai the same paper observes "the people of Native States resent unnecessary interference by the British Government in their affairs" and concludes that the establishment of Congress branches is the only way of salvation.

76. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 14th April, in a lengthy article on the marginally-noted subject, writes --

Mr. Habibulla's Logic.

The day before yesterday evening in annual meeting of the Muhammadan Educational Association was held at the Lawley Hall under the presidency of Mr. Habibulla Sahib, a member of the Government. It is extremely regrettable that he should have so harshly and cruelly attacked the non-co-operation movement. He was harsh in that he attacked the movement without explaining the real cause, and without shedding a tear as a Muslim. He was cruel in that he emitted poison thereon without understanding the religious side thereof.

The report of the MADRAS MAIL is before us, and proves that Mr. Habibulla has not given a moment's reflection to the religious aspect of the Khilafat or to the Koranic commandments as regards non-co-operation. He has advised Mussalmans that if there is any realm where non-co-operation should not have been adopted, it is that of education. Mr. Habibulla will, how, however, hear with dismay that no such distinction exists either in the Koran, or in the tradition or in jurisprudence. Our friend, the official adviser, will, perhaps, be offended on hearing that according to the sacred law no Mussalman has the right to express private judgment.

Our friend may accept the principle of non-co-operation or reject it, but he cannot establish any such special interpretation.

ø For the week ending 30th April 1921.

No.18th of 1921.

ENGLISH PAPERS..

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

1. Referring to the Tenants' Conference at Ottapalam, NEW INDIA, of the 29th April, observes:. "We have not hitherto raised the cry of 'Bolshevism', but we are bound to say now that the deliberate incitement of the peasantry to break off relationship with their landlords, at the very moment when legislation is proposed to meet their legitimate demands, is distinctly 'the mark of the beast'. It is carrying out the published instructions of the Russion Communist dictators, and is deliberately intended by them, as they proclaim, to bring about the social revolution by riot and bloodshed -- the only means in which they believe. Non-co-operation with the landlords can only means(in which they believe) the non-payment of rent and the forcible holding of the land. That is exactly carrying out the wish of the Bolshevik autocrates. It provokes violence and makes bloodshed inevitable. We have strongly suspected the presence of these Bolshevik agents behind some of the recent strikes, especially in Bombay, but we had refrained from using the word, lest we should excite unfair prejudice against men who might be working unconsciously on mischievous lines. But the Ottapalam Conference has overstepped the border, and if the leaders do not themselves intend to provoke an outbreak of violence, it means either that the are too short-sighted to see the inevitable outcome of their policy, or that they are pulled from behind by Communist agents."

Non-co-operation and Bolshevism.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

Mesopotamia and the Indians.

9. The HITAKARINI, of the 18th April, refers in its leader to the disabilities of ~~the~~ Indians in the British Colonies and says under this heading:- The lives of Indians in other countries are unbearable. .. .. .. Ever since the foreign Government stepped into this holy country, Indians have been deprived of their freedom. In other countries the Indian is looked upon as a worde than a brute. We cannot forget the endeavours made by Indian leaders to disillusionise the innocent Indians who were ~~fal~~ falling prey to the machinations resorted to by the agents of the Plantation owners in the Fiji Islands to induce the Indian coolies to emigrate to that country. We know the Government of India yield to the wishes of the foreigners without considering the interests of their subjects. We know that our representations in this matter have turned out to be so many cries in the wilderness. We publish below a letter address addressed to Lala Lajpat Rai and others describing the sufferings of the Indians in Mesopotamis. (Here the paper gives a Telugu rendering of the letter giving in detail the 'wrongs' done to ~~the~~ Indians in Mesopotamia and appealing to the addressees for help to oppose the wrongs).

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(d) Education.

The boycott of Schools.

16. Referring to the rapid progress made in the matter of schools discording Government aid and national schools being started, as a part of the non-co-operation movement the DESABHAKTAN, of the 21st April, remarks that, if this rate of progress is kept up the doors of the Universities working under the control of the Present Government will have to be closed soon observes:- We wish the students, who have been hesitating

in the matter of boycottng schools on account of the impending examinations, will make up their minds now, as 75 per cent. of them are sure to fail, on account of the examiners non-co-operating with them. If these decide at least hereafter to boycott aided schools, our movement will become mightily strengthened. It is argued against this boycott that the minds of youths, being very impressionable, should not be spoiled at this stage. We would say that, on this very account and on account of the fact that their minds have not yet developed a slavish turn as a result of their having served the bureaucrats, this is the proper time to impress good ideas on them. One more reason why the students should boycott schools and take to the service of the country is that the majority of them, being unmarried, have not other duties to perform in life and can therefore devote their full time for the work. A still mightier reason tha is that the present systeām of education forms the foundation om which the structure of the British Empie is raised and that, if that structure is to be demolished, the foundation should be blown up to pieces, which can be done only by the students boycotting the present system of education.

(k) General.

Lord Willingdon and non-co-operation.

19. Expressing regret at Lord Willingdon's 'incapacity' to realise the aspirations of the people, win their love and understand the true significance of the non-co-operation movement in spite of his stay in India for the last ten years, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 16th April observes :- It is the trend of the times that certain municipalities in the ANDHRA country are vieing with each other in paying respect to Mr. Gandhi and that the Salem municipality boycott Lord Willingdon ~~xxxx~~ and black flags were hoisted in Karur, We hope Lord Willingdon will, hereafter, at least, realise the real intensityof the spirit of liberty actuating the Indians. Let him understand

that his remark, that non-co-operation will lead to serious consequences, and slander of the popular leaders, will only affect his future happiness but will in no way cause any loss to the people.

Indians and Government Service.

20. Appreciating the remark of one Mr. Vaman Rau Joshi, who was recently arrested on political grounds, declining the offer of his friends to defend him, that the conscience of the Indians Officials will be pricking them for having to arrest sincere workers for the country and innocent men like himself, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 16th April, observes that all the officials under Government employ will soon find themselves in the same plight and asks those having education now with a view to get into service to take a warning from this.

The present situation.

22, Referring to the remark of the DAILY EXPRESS that, if the Rowlatt Act is repealed, the non-co-operation movement which is now in full swing in the country will become harmless, the TAMIL NADU, of the 17th April, is surprised at the 'ignorance' of this paper in believing that the non-co-operation movement can be suppressed so easily and remarks:- TheIndians might have been satisfied if this law had been repealed before the Punjab massacre and the Khilafat injustice. Now, even the masses have understood the necessity of acquiring complete SWARAJ, for the purpose of putting an end to the indignities to which the country is subjected. So the people willnot abandon Mr. Gandhi's movement now, merely because of the introduction of minor reforms or the repeal of barbarous laws like the Rowlatt Act and the Press Act. All the unjust acts now committed by the authorities are done without the aid of the Rowlatt Act. So the Government will try to keep us under subjection as long as the arrogance and

avarice of the bureaucracy, their fiendish attitude to keep us down as slaves for ever and their immense powers continue. There will, therefore, be a remedy for our hardships only if we acquire home-rule which will root out their irresponsible administration.

23. The TAMIL NADU, of the 18th April, refers to six Honarary Magistrates in Tiruchengode having resigned their seats on account of the Government having run counter to public opinion in the matter of nominating the President of the Sankari Taluk Board and expresses its appreciation of their conduct in having resorted to non-co-operation recognising at least now that the British Government are not acting in accordance with the wishes of the people.

The non-co-operation movement.

The same paper points to an English Magistrate in Fatehpur having caled upon a Government servant to explain why he should not be removed from Service on account of his brother being a non-co-operator, as an instance to prove the extent to which the 'white' officials are losing their balance at sight of the spread of this movement and observes:- If every 'white' official in India removes all those in service who are relations of non-co-operators, that stage of non-co-operation relating to boycott of Government service would be achieved without any trouble on the part of the Congress propagandists. The Actions of the authorities on account of their provocation are favourable to us. From the Viceroy down to the lowest official, every one has till now been helping the progress of our movement by his foolish acts. But the example, now set by the Fatehpur District Magistrate is the best of all and we hope other District Magistrate in India will follow this.

Referring to the anti-non-co-operation propaganda work in Vellore under the lead of the Hon'ble Mr. Ramarayaningar the DESABHAKTAN, of the 19th April, observes:- Our hero, the new Don Quixote, who went to Vellore to attack the non-co-operation movement after inspecting the local jail which is the main sign of the British rule and interviewing the local deities, presided at the prize distribution of the Mahant High School. After the distribution of prizes, he appreciated the action of those students who still took to English studies without leaving the school. Deeming himself to be the lord of the situation, he indulged in all manner of abuse about the non-co-operation cause. He then begun to extol the benefits of the reforms and pointed out that fiscal autonomy was thereby secured, though subject to very certain restrictions, which, he said, resembled the breakes in steam engines. We verymuch doubt whether the idea of the steam engine will strike any one at sight of this minister and his colleagues. But the moment he descended from the platform, innumerable voices thundered forth 'Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai' which is after all the result of so much vituperation aganst the non-co-operation movement. Subsequently all those who implicitly obey the authorities convened a public meeting at which they wanted Mr. Ramarayaningar to have his say, and he sent, as his poineer, Mr. Tanikachalam Chetti, too who however, proved a failure receiving rebuffs from the audience for being a member of the Legislative Council and the being devoid of patriotism. The proper counteraction on the part of non-co-operators for such a treacherous movement, would have been to leave the meeting quietly in a body. However, the incidents at this meeting clearly show what the public feeling is in regard to non-co-operation propaganda will naturally lead to such disgraceful situation and request them not to resort to it.

Remarking that non-co-operation is being practised by certain irresponsible persons in such a way as to cause disturbance to the peace and tranquility of the country, the HINDU-

NESAN, of the 20th April, observes:- What is the course ~~of~~ open for the authorities to follow in such cases? They have, as far as possible been patient, but there is a limit for everything. The non-co-operators, are however, exceeding this limit. The Authorities should now concentrate all their attention on preventing this movement from taking root, as they are not unaware of the fact that any delay in the matter will lead to dangerous results in the end.

Remarking that Englishmen adopt the policy of the Ostrich with reference to an impending danger, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 21st April, described, how the authorities here have been belittling any agitation started in this country which does not find favour with them and how, when they find that the agitation has outgrown their expectations, they resort to repression on one side and try to assert on the other that the agitation is dead, taking care to employ two different sets of people to do these two items of work and, making fun of the conclusion arrived at by one Mr. H.E.Cotton that the non-co-operation have lost faith in their Movement and are trying to recede as discreetly as possible, observes:- He says that the Government of India have allowed a long rope for this movement to hang itself with. Even yesterday we heard of a patriot in AMRITSAR having been sentenced to imprisonment for six months for delivering an address likely to lead to public excitement. Not a day passes without bringing information of cruel punishments having been inflicted in three or four places. While so, to decieve whom is the pretension made that the Government are not resorting to repression? Mr. Cotton himself points out that, if the Government had acted on the cry raised by Lord Sydenham and others for repression, nothing could have been more harmful than that to the new liberty granted to India. But the Government of India are adopting only the policy suggested by the Sydenham party ~~and~~ and it will doubtless lead to serious harm. All the same, the liberty of India cannot be affected by it, as it is in the hands of

of God and the determination of the Indians. If any harm should result, it will be only to the friendly relations between England and India and if this is to be avoided, the very idea of repression has to be given up and the administration should be conducted wholeheartedly in the interests of India.

24. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 18th April, writes:- The doubts arises in us whether the members of the Indian Civil Service, who are praised to the skies, are men or parrots.

The Indian Civil Service.

The authorities have accepted the view of eminent lawyers that for action under the section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, to be valid, certain specific conditions should be satisfied. However, Collectors are going on issuing order committing the same mistakes under the same provision of law. If, without even knowing how to issue orders in the proper form, these Collectors should one after another continue to pass the same wrong order, we would say that they could be replaced by parrots.

25. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th April, publishes a communication from the pen of a correspondent, wherein he complains that on the 13th idem he was forced by the Police Inspector at the Tirur Police station to surrender the Gandhi Cap he was then wearing, under the pretext that it was the order of the District Collector that such caps should not be used in the Malabar district and 'appreciating' very much the action of the officials under the British rule in thus waging war against a cap and the treatment accorded to the people by these officials asks whether the Government will lost the country on account of this cap.

The Gandhi Cap.

Regarding this communication the paper remarks that this war against the cap is no new thing and that the Gandhi

cap is a scare to many just as a red rag is to the bull.

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 21st April also refers to the incident in which a Police Inspector at Tirur seized by threat the Gandhi cap worn by a Muhammadan and observes: Perhaps there is no right for people in this country even to wear the caps they like. In such cases we should not obey the unreasonable orders of the officials. We should allow them to wrest the thing from us and, by doing this repeatedly but calmly put them to shame and make them realise that it is wrong to interfere in things which do not concern them.

30. Adverting to the rumour that Lord Reading proposes

The ideal of the moderates.

to hold a conference of the the leaders of all parties, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 16th April, refers to the fear of the moderates that it may lead to their losing the fat salaries several of them are now drawing in different new posts created under the reforms Act and observes: But the non-co-operators are neither anxious for the conference nor are they against it, as their aim is not to secure posts but to further the interests of the country, and they will therefore attend a conference, if one is held. Though they are sure of victory for the principle of non-co-operation, they will not refuse to suggest ways for satisfying the needs and aspirations of India immediately. Colonel Wedgwood has suggested that the rules under the Reforms Act should be repealed and that the non-co-operators should be consulted in the matter of framing new ones. If this is adopted there is room for the moderates to apprehend whether the posts they have now got will disappear and we pity them here.

35. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 20th April, writes:- The Governor of Bombay is reported to have stated at Karachi:-

The Governor of Bombay and non-co-operation.

"Why should the non-co-operators be barking? If they do not like to stay, let them walk out." Yes. One party should certainly walk out and we believe it will be known within the next year which party it is. When this world itself is transient, it will be impossible for the bureaucrats alone to be permanent. We will definitely assert that the time of their departure is also at hand. On the same occasion, His Excellency is said to have observed that, if servants behaved dishonestly, they would be kicked out! We think servants are those who received wages and masters are those who pay them. We need not say that it is the Indian race that is paying a very fat salary to the Governor of Bom Bombay. Those who have read the articles of Bernad Houghton will clearly see that the kinsmen of this Governor have been behaving dishonestly, in spite of their being the servants of the people. Though thus the servants of the Indian race are to be kicked out, according to the dictum of the Governor of Bombay, that race deems it to be derogatory to its prestige and status to do so and therefore asks the bureaucracy to withdraw honorably. This is the inner significance of the principle of non-co-operation. Let us hope that the bureaucrats will preserve their honour.

39. Referring to Mr. Montagu's statement in the House of Commons that, until the report of the Imperial Defence Committee is published, he will adhere to his view that no reduction should be effected in the Indian Army, the SWADESAMITRAN, ofthe 23rd No April, observes:- All the statesmen of the world, including the party who are mad with the fad of 'Imperialism' are endeavouring to reduce the military strength of their respective countries. Perhaps it is the sweet will andpleasure of Mr. Montagu

The Indian Army.

that India alone should be an exception to this rule! He says he will not even consider the question of reducing the burden of taxation on India by curtailing brute force, until the Imperial Defence Committee's report is out. Our people can easily infer from the very name of the committee what the nature of its report is likely to be.

40. Referring to the Reforms Conference held at Calicut "owing to the exertions of Mrs. Besant and her followers", the DESABHAKTAN, of the23rd April, remarks that it is attended only by the false patriots seeking the favour of the officials and suggests to the conveners of the same that, if they cannot boldly come out, speaking out truth, they would do well at least to keep quiet without saying anything.

The Conferences in Malabar.

The HINDU NESAN, of the 23rd April, appreciates the presidential address of Mrs. Annie Besant at this Conference.

41. Referring to the observations of the MADRAS MAIL that the Bolsheviks are taking active steps to do away with British rule in India, that this is countenanced by Afghanistan and that the required military arrangements should be made forthwith, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 25th April, observes:- Should this happen, there is no doubt that will prove dangerous to India. We should by no means allow foreigners to plunder our country. The Government should not continue to ignore the attitude of the people even at this critical juncture. They should on the other hand, grant SWARAJ to Indians immediately and secure their co-operation. Otherwise they will have to face serious consequences. Nothing but SWARAJ will assuage the wounded feelngs of the people. We warn the Government beforehand, to act with foresight realising that, unless it is granted, the

The military expenditure.

people will never come forward to co-operate with them. English newspapers advocate the increase of military expenditure by the Government of India on the plea that the Bolsheviks are trying to come into India, and the troubles on the north-western frontier seem also to be increasing. We can never approve the increase of military expenditure on this account. It should be considered whether this danger cannot be warded off by other means. There is one way of safe-guarding the country without lavishing on the military the money collected as taxes from the poor, and that is the prompt organisation and training of Indian regiments for the country's defence, thus obviating the necessity of getting foreigners at increased wages. The reason why the Government have not done so is, that they have not sufficient confidence in the people. How long can the rulers continue to administer the country satisfactorily thus distrusting the ruled? Will our benevolent Government realise, at least hereafter, that a Government not enjoying the confidence of the people will have to suffer at a critical moment.

A vain argument.

44. Writing about the conference recently held at Calicut under the presidency of Mrs. Anne Besant, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 25th April, remarks:- The unsound reasoning the feeling of hatred, and the groundless animosity exhibited by NEW INDIA against Mr. Gandhi and the national movement have all greatly contributed to spread 'non-co-operation' in the Madras Presidency. The anti-non-co-operation movement organised by the Besantine party in Kerala also cannot but give additional strength to the Congress party. Hitherto, the authorities alone were trying to violate the birthrights of the people. Now the Ministers are also taking part in that work. The people cannot but feel sorry to see the Ministers also being caught in the bureaucratic machine and moving with it as it works. The Reforms are only

useful in affording opportunity for the Indian officers to annoy their brethren. .. .. .. Mrs. Besant said that the country was moving towards the direction of Home Rule with a velocity greater than what she expected. No doubt, it is true that SWARAJ is near at hand. But only it is not the out come of the Legislative Councils, but it is the fruit of the non-co-operation movement.

46. The illusion of the co-operators. Characterising the action of the moderates as being traitorous to the country inasmuch as they play the second fiddle to the bureaucracy, and attributing their attitude to motives of self-interest, the BALABHARATI, of the 15th April, observes:- No one can accept the principle that for the sake of foreigners the natives of the country should meet with destruction. They (the foreigners) have been here as they found it advantageous to do so. They may continue their stay here if they find it still profitable. Otherwise they may go. The British people may continue to be our friends for ages to come if they possess the good nature of caring for the gain of the Indians equally with theirs. But if they wish to look
own profit and prestige and like to be the masters of the Indians and not their equals
to their equals they may do so, only the Indians will not co-operate with them. They cannot remain as slaves. Whether the foreigners stay here or go away, it is not a matter of importance to the Indians; but what concerns them most is that they should possess equal rights with them. Even though the Indians have been under the British Government for the last 2000 years, they are not in a position to protect themselves. To what else is this helpless condition due but to the foreign rule? The sooner we obtain SWARAJ, the better can we over come these difficulties.

47. Writing about the orders passed by the District Magistrate against the non-co-operators in different provinces, the VENKATESAPATRIKA, of the 12th March, observes in it s leader:- The more Mr. Gandhi works to promote peace in the country, the more are the authorities getting perturbed. It is their own action that is harmful to them. If the Government had pursued a righteous path, they would not have had any reason for fear. It is only a ruler who wants to do an injustice that will intimidate the people and behave hard-heartedly. Our real rulers are not the Collector, the Governor, the Viceroy or even the Parliament in England. They are the four crores of people that are now inhabiting England. If those people understand our mind correctly, some advantage may be gained. .. .. It is acts of repression that make the movement spread more rapidly. .. .. .. The Kingdom of an unrighteous ruler will be unstable like th water in a broken pot. .. .. .. Mr. Gandhi tells us and our rulers that even the most powerful sovereign depends upon the help of the people. His advice does not appeal itself to the authorities who are blind with power. But the people have understood it very well.

Political tactics.

51. The DESABHIMANI, of the 17th April, says:- To-day India is drowned in injustice. Freedom having vanished under the British rule, the common people have not been able to even to endeavour to establish justice. Tilak was born under such circumstances and worked as far as it lay in his power. After his death, Mr. Gandhi has continued his work for the establishment of justice. Mahatma Gandhi is an embodiment of sacrifice. He believes that to establish justice is his only duty. He applied his weapon of passive resistance in South Africa with success in order to put down the wicked methods by which the westerners

Mr. Gandhi.

were destroying ~~to put down the wicked methods by which the westerners were destroying~~ mankind. He then entered the Indian political field and rendered the British unequalled help. He put up with the wrongs they have done to India. But when the wrongs exceeded all bounds, his faith (in the British) has been shaken, and when the Rowlatt Law was passed his faith vanished. He then declared that it is not just to submit to a wicked rule. On the 6th of April 1919, when the SATYAGRAHA vow was declared, the whole of India realised the necessity of the destroying a bad system of Government, for the establishment of justice. The vow is not a new one. It was the great means adopted by Prahlada to conquer his father who was filled with pride. On the 13th April, a thousand patriots have given their blood to mother India at the Jallianwalla Bagh where the arbitraty conduct of the British has assumed a visible form. Under the British bureaucracy India has been "burnt with dishonour". On that day mother India crawled on her knees along the Amritsar street with tears in her eyes. Those who have a spirit of self-sacrifice should come forward to sacfifice their all for attaining SWARAJ whose chief object is to establish justice. .. .. .. The Mahatma promises to return to the ANDHRA country in August. If she finishes her portion of work of collecting subscriptions for the Congress etc., he says he will secure SWARAJ for her first and through her, he will earn India's freedom.

52. A correspondent to the DESABHIMANI, of the 17th April, writes under this heading:-

The message of Mahatma Gandhi.

When wicked men fill the world with wicked deeds, God kills them and protects justice. A country in which sin has prevailed cannot but go to ruin. A cruel-hearted man cannot but perish. A society containing the wicked cannot but be reduced to a wretched plight. Wickedness is smouldering fire and it may burn things at any time. There are crooked-minded men in India. Racial partiality is very rife.

There is no mutual confidence between the rulers and the ruled. .. .. .. Unholy persons have touched the holy country. The Country of Aryan descendants is doing menial service to all. .. .. .. The country which was the abode of all prosperity has now suffered eternal poverty. .. .. .. The caste professions have been abandoned and Government service is considered a great honour. Habits and customs have changed and India is about to become a new England. But servitude alone is on the increase. The Indians have closed their eyes on account of the glamour of the west. A Mahatma was found necessary for destroying servitude and reviving the old traditions. God has sent him as His representative. His words have to be taken as gospel truth. If we despise his advice, we can never attain salvation. Make sacrifice for one year for freeing the mother country from imprisonment and the Indian brethren from chains. VANDE MAATARAM.

THE TRAMPLING DOWN OF INDIAN PUBLIC OPINION.

62. In a leading article the MANORAMA of the 19th April, referring to the bestowal of the rank of Viscount of Lord Chelmsford, takes strong exception to the attitude invariably adotpted, for some time now, by the British Government of trampling under foot Indian public opinion. Examples are quoted, of Mr. Thompson and Sir Michael O'Dwyer of Punjab notoriety having been honoured in various ways. Regarding Sir Michael it notes how it was during the period of extension of service given to him -- as if by way of compensation for the censure administered to him by the Viceroy for his defamatory speech in the Indian Legislative Council -- that all the Punjab troubles arose and how Sir Michael was the prime cause of all those troubles, insomuch as to make Indians hate his very name like sin. But this gentleman was commended by the Government was sent home with a pension, nay more, was sent back to India with honours as the President of the Esher Committee. The article observes that if General Dyer, Bosworth Smitt, Johnson and other notorious names

were also included in the honours' list, the trampling down of Indian Public opinion would have been perfected! It is only actions like, these that have defeated the Duke of Connaught noble appeal to "forget and forgive". No one has succeeded better than Lord Chelmsford, Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer to create in the public mind mistrust of the British administration. There is no doubt that these three persons are mainly responsible for the present unrest in the country. All Indians, irrespective of parties, castes or creeds hate the actions of these officials. Yet the Government have decided to confer titles and honours on them. The paper expresses sincere regret that this attitude cannot but widen the gulf between Englishmen and Indians.

N.C.S.

63. Non-co-operation. In a leading article under this heading, the efforts of non-co-operators' the KERALA SANCHARI, of the 20th April, points out that they are making slow but steady progress and that the movement is spreading in the interior parts of the country as a result, it is afraid, of the policy of repression followed by officers of Government in and some-times out of season to check the progress of the movement. Repression, it points out, can only create fear not loyalty. The paper notes with regret that the present unrest in the country arose and increase during the administration of Lord Chelmsford, and observes that even if some of the actions and speeches of the non-co-operators should go amiss and be unpalatable both to the Government and the people, the Government officials should not pay heed to them, but should exercise self-control so as not to cause disgust amongst the people. If this be done non-co-operation will lose its momentum and the efforts of the non-co-operators will cease of themselves.

64. The MUSLIM, of the 20th April, observes:- The repressive policy of Mr. Thomas in Malabar is now reported to have taken new form. Finding that by the imprisonment of those who are working for their religion and country, it is not possible to force theme who are working for their religion and country, it is not possible to force them to give up their efforts, the authorities have now begun to inflict frightful torture. It is now an open secret that the police do seize Khilafat workers and non-co-operators and take them inside the police station where they barbarously beat and threaten them. And we are ashamed to say that we two Muslim police officers in Malabar are the first among those that commit such atrocities and other dea-meaning acts. .. .. .. The paper calls upon the citizens of the place where such thing occur to circulate pamphlets giving full details of these atrocities, so as to make the public well acquianted with the satanic policy of the British Government, and to be calm and quiet till some other means are found out in consultation with the leaders at the conference to be held at Ottapalam.

Repression in Malabar.

65. In the course of an article published in the MALAYALI, of the 23rd April, under the heading 'The Congress and Travancore' the following among other remarks occur:- We need not tell you about the case of a large number of our brethren who sacrificing everything are waging a DHARMAYUDHA (a war of righteousness) against a Government that keeps us as slaves by means of brute force. Such a war as the one we are engaged in never before occurred in the history of the world. The present Bharata war is holier than the Puranic war of the Mahabharata. The Puranic war was between the wicked and the virtuous of this same land. But the present war is to obtain salvation from the tyranny which a very small western country has for the last

The Congress and Travancore.

one hundred and fifty years been exercising over one of the largest of the eastern countries, and thereby to establish DHARMA in the world. The enslavement of a quarter of the people of the globe is an impediment not only to us but to the progress of the world. Till now, trusting on brute force, the world has been dreaming that progress depended on war. But this has only made the world a demon land.

66. The VEERAKERALAM, of the 20th April, points out that while the Duke of Connaught and the ex-Viceroy , Lord Chelmsford, have declared in one part of the country that a policy of repression was undesirable in India, the Provincial satraps are vieing with one another for the highest record of intensive repression in a manner prejudicial to the country and Government as well as to the fair name of England, and that their intention seems to be to borrow a chapter from the Martial Law Code and to govern the county sword in hand, and observes that it is regrettable that these wicked statesmen forgot that such policy was the cause of the confusion now prevailing in Ireland. The paper thinks that officials intoxicated with power are trying to worry the people and cause disgust among them, and tries to refute the contention of the bureaucracy that the non-co-operation movement is a seditious movement.

Repression.

IV. NATIVE STATES.

76. In a leading article the KERALACHANDRIKA, of the 11th April, advocates a complete boycott of Christians by the Hindus and Muslims of Kerala."The Christian cobra with hood extended has got ready to sting and kill and destroy the Hindu and Muslim communities and their religions." .. .. .. "The Attitude of these christians towards the Khilafat question -- which is as dear to us as life itself -- is now evident. When

'Boycott Christians.'

we accepted non-co-operation with the British Government, according to the precept of our religion, which says 'do not co-operate with the wicked', probably it was the Christianity of these Christians which made them stand against us. Well, we turn that non-co-operation now towards them in the first instance." Referring to the presumption of the Cochin Government, which tried to withstand the Khilafat agitation, which the Government of India could not withstand,, it says:- "Nor one nor ten, nor even hundred Vijayaraghavacharis will be able to repress non-co-operation and Khilafat which will only bounde up the more they are pressed down." .. .. .. "That the Christians in alliance with Ezhuvas, and the Cochin Government in alliance with both, should have presumed to fight against the cause taken up by thirty crores of Hindus and Muslims in India and against this Mammoth alliance of Hindus and Muslims , is rank lunacy worse than that of the inmates of Lunatic Asylums."

For the week ending 7th May 1921.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.HOME ADMINISTRATION

(k) General.

Non-co-operation and revolution.

1. The JANMABHUMI, of the 21st April, writes:- "We ask ourselves the further question whether the movement now set on foot is a movement of renaissance or of revolution. It is perhaps difficult to distinguish between the two, nor do these who put it to the non-co-operator to say whether he would endorse this or approve of that or commend the other, seem to recognize the very fine lives of cleavage that demarcate the one from the other. We are familiar with the terminology and have learnt roughtly to equate revolution to blood spilling and life-taking and reniassance to life-giving and blood preserving.

"Whatever that be, we must, in the last analysis, recognize and understand all revolutions as events or phenomena and allreniassance as a process. We must recognize too that revolutions need not be always 'red' and bloody but may be effected by peaceful, and, none the less, effective meahods. .. .. A wholesale and comprehensnsive restatement of ancient laws and readjustment of ancient institutions is clearly the first and foremost objective in the renaissance that has been set on foot, but in order to make it possible, such rehabitation and such readjustment must take place events that are well defined, single pointed and pregnant with results. The long drawn out struggle between an alien beaucacracy that imposes its will on the people in every sphereof life and the people themselves who have shaken off their somnolence and slave mentality cannot be permitted to on go on indefinitely and if nationalal emancipation should be secured at all it must be secured by some COUP D' ETAT. Such a COUP is the revolution which Gandhi has inaugurated in this country. That revolution is not a bloody revolution such as Cromwell achieved or Louis XX XVI fell victim to. It is a silent and peaceful process of purification even more than even of paralasis. It no doubt did na at one time contemplate a ap paralysis of the prevailing form of Government by the withholding of all co-operation with it from the people of the country. But we have repeatedly pointed out that if popular forces could be thrilled and disciplined into that unanimity, that perfection and that fulfilment, then we had SWARAJ before we even desired it. It is therefore a folly to judge the revolution and account it a success or a failure merely from the standpoint of paralysis. The real standard to judge by is the standard of purification. Does every man in the country and every woman, does every boy and every girl realize that to dies were bettera than this disgrace of slavery? If so, the nation is well on it s way to SWARAJ. After all heaven and hell are the creations of the mind, and if the mind transcends it s immediate limitations -- the

limitations imposed by the physical environment, it has created for itself an atmosphere of purity and freedom. This we claim to have done during the past ten months in some measure. We exposed the hollowness and infirmity of the mighty Government. We have shown up their moral weaknesses and immoral strongholds, we have dashed to the ground their sheet anchor--prestige, we have established the truth that without the whole-hearted co-operation of the people, no Government can stand for a day, we have done all this day a process of revolution not of reniassance. We have yet to consolidate our strength and our success. There is very little time ahead. We cannot afford to fritter our energies and resources even upon such commendable objects as the conservation of learning, the revival of art, the spread of co-operation and the fostering of industry. These can well take care of themselves. The time will come when the nation will be free to concentrate its tastes and talents upon such noble endeavours; but now all shall give place to the march of the revolution."

2. Violence of non-co-operation. Referring to the incidents at Malegaon and Giridhi, the MUHAMMADAN, of the 5th May, writes:- "We have no apology to offer in dwelling at some more length on the unpleasant incidents at Malegaon in Bombay and at Giridhi in Behar. It is true that the state of things at Giridhi did not proceed to such an extent as they did at Malegaon, but both the incidents arise from similar circumstances and disclose matters of similar sinister purpose. We shall therefore study the two incidents with a view to future guidance to non-co-operators and their well-wishers. .. .. .. The attacks by the Malegaon and Giridhi 'non-co-operators' on the police and their attempts to shield people from justice, such as it is, must be counted a set-back to non-co-operation from which it will take some time to recover. Needless to say we profoundly regret the incidents. .. .. ..This set back, however, will far from discouraging non-co-operators from persisting in their work, only goad them on to effect a

self-purification in their ranks, and who can say, except the quidnuncs in the Anglo-Indian press and the Besant-cum-Moderates combine, that their course will not be the right one? .. .. It must gladden the hearts to non-co-operators to know that amid the gloom of Malegaon and Giridhi, they have the gleam of light aforded at Ottappalam in the Kerala Conference week in that small but rising town. The Reserve Police which had been stationed there 'to preserve order' signalised their presence and the Majesty of their might by a violent attack on the Conference officials, the Secretary included, and terrorised some of the respactable mer chants. The story of these rising Black and Tans in the bud has yet to be fully told, but the special correspondent of the MADRAS MAIL has given us sufficient information to enable us to see that the assualt was deliberate, unprovoked and practically, wanton."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.FOREIGN POLITICS.

Bolshevik activities in England and India.

4. Detailing the efforts made by the Bolsheviks to foment unrest in England, the DRAVIDAN, of the 25th April, refers to the mention made of the existence of Bolshevik influence even in India, and, remarking that, when there is room for their mischief even in England which is in lofty position in all respects, they can easily upset the peace of this land, asks the Government to take proper steps to safeguard the same..

II.HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) POLICE.

Shooting by the Police at Kumbakonam.

111 .In commenting upon the report of the committee appointed to inquire about the shooting at Kumbakonam, the DESABHAKTAN of the 30th April, concludes from the report that the Police Inspector had not proper authority to give orders to fire and , agreeing with the finding of the committee that the alleged

pelting of stone s cannot offer suffieient excuse for shooting the people, says:- It is, therefore, clear that the cause of the shooting is only the official arrogance of the Police Inspector and this is the conclusion of the committee too. Now we have to decide what kind of punishment should be inflicted on a man who wounds and shoots down people on account of his arrogance. And again when he has been engaged in shooting down people from 9-50 p.m. to 4 a.m., without any provocation, what is the punishment to be inflicted on him according to law? When an offender in this respect happens to be an official, the punishment given to him should be greater than that meted out in the case of an ordinary man. But the committee have, while pronouncing the action of the Inspector to be unjustifiable, let him off by ~~makx~~ asking him to avoid a recurrence of this conduct. This is not justice, as the work of a judge is to give an impartial judgment and not to consider whether his order can be given effect to.

(b) COURTS.

A curious decision.

12. Referring to the conviction of the editor of the QAUMI REPORT and Mr. Muhammad Ibrahim by the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Egmore, for having caused obstruction to traffic by holding a public meeting on a road in Triplicane, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 20the April, expresses its surprise at the decision of the Magistrate, and observes:- The Magistrate has made mention, in his judgement, of Mr. Ibrahim Sahib having taken a licence for a religious function but conducted a political one. The issue before him was whether the accuded caused ~~hxmx~~ any obstruction to the ~~(traffic at that hou)~~ to the people on a public road and the purpose for which licence was taken out has no bearing whatever on this question. The Magistrate himself admits that the editor of the QUAMI REPORT entered the pandal after 12 in the night and we wish to ask who felt the obstruction to the

traffic at that hour. Under the circumstances, it is a mistake to have convicted the accused. That they should have been sentenced to pay a fine indicates only a political hatred against them and not a sense of fairness. The manner in which tthe prosecution was launched and the nature of the judgment make ~~ti~~ it clear that the Police and the officials are largely influenced by the idea of allicting the non-co-operators for even trifling causes. If the two accused had declined to pay the fine and preferred to undergo the imprisonment in default, we would have appreciated their action much. Unless patriots set an example by entering prison, the world cannot understand the cruely of providing imprisonement as an alternative punishment for such offences. It is again contrary to the principle of non-co-operation for us to whole-heartedly recognise the Court of Law, established by the Government as a Court of Justice.

(K) GENERAL.

18. The DRAVIDAN OF THE 19th April, condemns the policy of Mr. Montagu in having increased the salaries of European officials largely within the last two years and, expressing the view that there are an unnecessarily large number of appointments in service carrying very high salaries, which ought to be reduced, considering the economic ~~condemnation~~ condition of the country, remarks:- The appointment of foreigners in the Higher posts of the Imperial service entails the payment of large salaries and special allowances. If, instead of this, Indians are appointed to these posts as far aspossible, such increased salaries need not be paid, and the revenue of the Government of India will not be spent so much. There are thousands of Indians who are better than Englishmen in education, knowledge and capacity There is no rule again that, because India is under the English rule, Englishmen alone should be preferred for appointments, the claims of the Indians being ignored. So

The Government Service.

So the present system of appointing Englishmen largely should be avoided as much as possible, as it is not fair that Indian money should be squandered and the taxes imposed on the Indians increased. It is not again a desirable feature that the Secretary of State for India should exercise power even in the case of the appointments made in the Transferred Departments, as it unnecessarily ties up the hands of the Ministers in the matter of exercising the policitical rights granted as a first step towards home rule. May the Secretary of State devise a proper scheme in this respect.

New appointments for the moderates.

20. Remarking that Mr. Montagu is trying to make up for the disappointment of the moderates in this Presidency, in the matter of securing Government posts to the same extent as those in the other Presidencies, by trying to create at least some minor appointments for them, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th April, refers to the appointment of the Hon'ble Mr. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri as a representative of India on the Imperial Conference and of Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao as a member of the Indian students' Committee in England, and observes:- The Hon'ble Mr. Sastri seems to have had no idea whatever of the duties he has to perform in the Imperial Conference, till before he started. The term 'India' does not signify the terrotory from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin but the people therein. How can the Hon'ble Mr. V.S. Sastri be then said to be the representative of these people? He will himself admit that he does not now enjoy the full confidence and regard of the people. Still, we have perhaps to accept him as a representative of India because he is a friend of Mr. Montagu and the latter it is that guides the destinies of India Now! Mr. Montagu's favour has now turned towards Mr. Ramachandra Rao. Several suggestions have been made regarding the Indian students in England, one of which is that the Secretary of State should purchase article only from such factories as will take

Indian students as apprentices and what have been done as a result of these suggestions? The committee referred above offers minor appointments to two Indian moderates and extra income to some Englishmen. This is sure to entail enormous expenditure, though the benefit derived therefrom by the Indian students is to be seen only in the future. We wish to offer one suggestion to Mr. Montagu at this juncture. He can get nothing done in India through the moderates. He can only confer on them some appointments connected with the administration of the country but cannot appease the people through them.

The Government and the Missionaries.

22. Observing that other religions do not command as much influence under the British Government administration as Christianity, in spite of the profession of the Government that they do not interfere in religious matters, the DESABHAKTAN of the 26th April refers to the enormous salaries paid to Christian Missionaries from the Indian revenues and the grants given to institutions started by them to a larger extent than those given to similar institutions started by the Indians, and observes:- The proper course would be to render immense aid to charitable institutions started by Indians and extend it to those started by foreigners, after ascertaining that the latter are run on proper lines. But how can we expect such a policy from a Government which does not feel at one with the people? We ask whether it connotes impartiality in religious matters to spend money from Indian revenues for the conversion of the people to Christianity. It is the money paid by us as taxes that is given to the Missionaries for this purpose and is therefore utlised for converting our progeny, in their youth, into enemies of our race and principoes. The Missionaries who have established hospitals are using them for the purpose of propagating their religion and shaking the faith of the people

~~the faith of the people~~ in other religions. It appears the patients in the Rainey Hospital Madras are compelled to worship in Christian Temple there, whatever caste they may belong to. We have great love for Jesus Christ; but we detest any one compelling others, in his name, to do things which would be wounding the religious feelings of the latter. Another class of Missionaries profess to reclaim criminal tribes and obtain enormous grants from the Government. These pay the labourers low wages, make a large profit from the industry carried on by them and utilize it partly for their own purposes, partly in charitable ways and partly converting people to Christianity. It is to such people that the Government give money lavishly for buildings and charity!

The position of the moderates.

25. Commenting on the speech of Diwan Bahadur Krishnan Nayar at the Reforms Conference recently held at Calicut, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 27th April, observes:- If nothing is done detrimental to our honour or wealth, if complete liberty is granted to us and if the Englishmen and the Colonials do not deem themselves to be ~~ma~~ the masters in this country and the colonies and treat us as a lower lot, we can remain within the Empire and live with them like frieds and relatives, as long as it pleases God. But when everything is done in a contrary manner, it is only anindication of cowardince to say
to die if we cannot lead an honourable life. But this idea will never
that we should still remain within the Empire. It strike the moderates. Mr. Krishnan Nayar condemns repressive measures in general and particularly the way in which section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, is applied. But he does not find it shameful to co-operate with the Government which has permitted the application ~~to~~ of the above measures in his own district. He wants the people to forget and forgive the incidents in the Punjab. What can we forgive -- is it their having shot down thousands of innocent people or their having caused the Indians to crawl

on their chest like worms in the streets or their having whipped those accompanying a marriage procession or their having beaten our children to walk 16 miles in thehot sun or their having insulted the modesty of our women? Have they asked for or do they ask for our pardon? They will do so only when they deem us to be human beings. In the House of Commons, 130 members voted in favour of Dyer and the resolution passed by the House of Lords, that his action was quite right, still stands in the proceedings book. Can Mother Bharata forget the sword and the thirty thousand pounds presented to him by the Englishmen? It is Dyerism that still prevails in the English administration of our country. Under these circumstances, no Indians , whith the least patriotism in them, will advise their brethren to forget the past.

Lord Reading and the Martial Law Prisoners.

30. The MANORAMA, of the 29th April, rejoices at the decission of Lord Reading to review the records of the cases relating to the Martial Law prisoners still in jail in the Punjab and observes that the people of India will be eagerly waiting His Lordship's decision on the subject.

Mr. Horniman's externment.

31. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 28th April, writes:- The very fact that no member either of the Bombay Legislative Council or of the Indian Legislatures has brought forward a resolution for cancelling the order of externment passed on Mr. Horniman, shows to a certainty that the members of these Councils are not representatives of the people. If, as stated by the Duke of Connaught, the autocracy of the Government had disappeared, would not the Governor of Bombay have cancelled the externment order in deference to the opinion of the people? As long as the authorities are saturated with the tendency of justifying their action at any cost, they will not cancel

~~they will not cancel~~ the order, unless they aee compelled by circumstances to do so. They took no action against an Englishman, who reviled Lord Reading and his community as he pleased. But they externed Mr. Harniman who fought for the rights of the people, and thus deprived the Indians of the benefit of his assistance. As his constant demand for an open declaration about the offences alleged to have been committed by him ah has had no response, the public will only conclude that the Government have, by means of their strength, externed an innocent man.. While such is the case, where has autocracy disappeared?

Misapplication of the Seditious Meetings Act.

32. Referring to the news that an order has been served on Sri Sankaracharlyar of the SARADA PEETAM under the Seditious Act Meetings Act, prohibiting his lecture on Dharma to the Sikhs at Amritsar, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 29th April observes:- Though Sri Sankaracharyar concerns himself with politics now and again, he intended to lecture only on DHARMA on the occasion in question. As DHARMA relates solely to religion and as both the sikhs and the Hindus entertain common opinions on the subject, it is competent on the part of Sri Sankaracharlyar to lecture thereon and the Sikhs to hear him. Lord Reading should learn from the fact of the Seditious Meetings Act having been employed to prevent this lecture, that certain officials in India will not hesitate to do anything for the accomplishment of their object. Sir William Vincent had given as assurance that the authorities would not have recourse to the repressive law unless their hands wee forced and that even then, they would apply it only as a last resort. Was the present prohibitory order issued, according to that assurance, as a last resort? What harmful will results would could have followed Sri Sankarachariyar's lecutre, in the opinion of the authorities, even if he had intended to speak on political matters? What other steps were

~~were~~ taken by them before they put into anything beyond issuing an ~~order~~ operation the repressive law as a last resort? They do not appear to have done anything beyojdd issuing an order prohibiting the people from taking SriSankarachariyar in procession. How were they justified in doing this? The Police may impose conditions as a precautionary measure against any obstacles to the traffic of the town, or prohibit a procession if any breach of the peace is apprehended on account of it. But no such conditions seem to have prevailed in Amritsar. We think the authorities probibited the procession only to show their indignation towards Sri Sankarachariyar for concerning himself in political matters and to insult him on that account. Are the British authorities alone entitled to go in procession in this country, without any hindrance? Should the authorities interfere even in acts done by the people for honouring their preceptors? We hope that Lord Reading, who has come to India professing to administer justice without partiality, will consider if the authorities are justified in using an Act for purposes other than those for which they are intended and if they are authorised to do so according to law.

False evidence and the English.

36. Quoting from the PIONEER a statement of one, who has been a judge both in India and England, that the English have made a better name than the Indians in giving false evidence, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 29th April, says:- We expect the bureaucrats to say that the Indians are not fit for Home Rule because the Indians are not so clever even in the art of lying as the English, and that the latter are necessary to train the former in this art. Why should the records of the Judicial Department be ransacked to find out that the English are adepts in the art of lying? Will it not be plain from a consideration of the dealings of the Englishment with other countries? When even the English Ministers and Lords utter falsehood, need any doubt be entertained about the common people?

38. In commenting on the proceedings of the two conferences recently held in Malabar, the DRAVIDAN, of the 27th April,

Conference in Malabar.

characterises Mr. Prakasam, the President of the Ottapalam Conference, as having wasted his eloquence on Utopian schemes and describes that held at Calicut under the Presidency of Mrs. Besant as one to be laughed at and expressing surprise at the remark of Mrs. Besant that the proceedings of the Madras Legislative Council were very tame when compared with those of other Councils, while the whole of India has spoken of the Madras Council interms of praise, refers to the words of Mr. Prakasam that the non-Brahman Ministers have done no good to the country and that there is no room to expect any good from them in the future and says :- We have to brush aside these words as those of the Brahman party, who are jealous of th influence secured by the non-Brahmans. Being really envious of the non-Brahman Ministers being paid high salaries, they shed crocodile tears, at the people being overburdened with taxation. It is not the Brahmans that began to extract high pay from the Government? Where had the difficulties of the rate-payers gone then? Let our people keep away from such Brahman machinations at least hereafter.

Characterising the Reforms Conference held at Calicut, as one convened by moderates, title holders and traitors to the country, ~~(with a view to secure their own)~~ who talking of SWARAJ, obstruct the progress of the country, with a view to secure their own interests of NAVASAKTI, of the 29th April, says that the Provincial Conference at Ottapalam was held in the interests of the Country and adds:- Mr. Gandhi has started the principle of non-co-operation only to get rid of the poverty of India. What benefit has India derived from the reforms applauded by Mrs. Besant, except the ~~(benefit)~~ increase of expenditure? No man will hereafter listen to her lecture that these reforms will enable India to obtain SWARAJ. There are now two things before

the Indians; one is reforms and the other non-co-operation. The former can secure a Governorship for men of the type of Lord Sinha and can sendpeople of the stamp of the Hon'ble Mr. Sastriyar to England as representatives. It is for the people to consider deeply whether the poverty of India can be got rid of by means of Indians becoming Governors or going to England. Those who get high positions as a result of the reforms forget the people and support the bureaucrats. If non-co-operation is followed, India is sure to benefit herself by acquiring SWARAJ. So we request people to work for the country, relying upon the non-co-operation and without trusting those who co-operate with the bureaucrats.

40. The non-co-operation movement. While admitting that this movement, eschewing all violence in principle as it does, doubtless leads to the commission of excesses by the people, who are unable to understand its significance and justifying the action of the authorities in suppressing the same, the LOKOPAKARI, of the 28th April, characterises as irregular the attempts of the Government to suppress the propaganda of the non-co-operators by means of illegal acts of repression and the grant of permission to the Government officials to carry on a counter-propaganda and observes:- It is a day-dream on thepart of the officials to think that the movement can be crushed by suppressing its leaders. When there are differences between the liberals and the conservatives even in Governments conducting the administration on democratic lines, there is nothing surprising in party differences being found among people who seek a democratic form of administration under a foreign rule. The movement is on the lines of struggle of the westerns for liberty. The Indians have taken to this just, as they have taken to other western methods and, however, much the authorities may try to suppress it, it will only be taking one shape after another.

The DESABHAKTAN of the 30th April, publishes some verses by a correspondent under the heading of 'non-co-operation' in which the following sentiments find place among others:- We will not care for the words of those who talk sweet; nor will we be afraid of weapons and recede. We will boycott all foreign manufactures and foster the strength of the Aryas by getting them made hre. We will prevent our wealth being drained still. It is deemed natural to direct our people, our troops and our strength to secure our ruin! Can we put up with this despotism? We will insist on having the right of self-determination, ~~withou~~ without attaching any value to the words of foreigners, whose frame is waning. How many taxes are we to pay and that without our words being heard in the least? We cannot be tolerating this system of draining our very essence.

42. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 30th April, publishes the proceedings of a meeting held at Madura, on the 27th idem,

The Congress propaganda work.

in the speeches delivered at which the following observations find place among others:- We asked those who came here for trade to stop here and handing over the country into their hands, enslaved ourselves. If only we have a resolute mind, the guns and jails of the Government cannot be of any avail. Even the Government have realised this and are gradually abating the use of fire-arms and the imprisonment of the people. .. .. The Russians have an eye upon India. The Bolsheviks have reached Afghanistan and are joining hands with the Amir. At such a critical juncture, our Government should not continue their old policy but grant us liberty. .. .. .. You should all be prepared to go to jail, for our field of war is inside the jail.

43. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 30th April, publishes also the lecture said to have been delivered by Mr. A. Rangaswami Ayyangar at Needamangalam on the 23rd Idem, in the course of which he is reported to have stated that it is on account of the want of union among the people that they have become subject to foreigners and are suffering several miseries and that it is for fear the union of the mirasidars and the Panchamas may engender their livelihood that some of the officials are trying to prejudice the Panchamas against the mirasidars and appealed to the Panchamas not to allow others to interfere between them and the mirasidars. He has also pointed out in this lecutre that, while the Panchamas are enjoying the house-site of the mirasidars free of rent, the Government are taking a bond from them for the cost of the house-sites assigned to them and the amount advanced to them for building houses and that the Government, who profess much sympathy for the Panchamas, are immersing them in the habit of drink and imprisoningthose who are preaching temperance.

The mirasidars and the Panchamas.

47. Writing about the importance of the observance of the vow of non-violence, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 29th April, observes:- Repressive steps are being adopted to a large extent in order to defeat the vow of non-violence taken by the non-co-operators, and to incite them to violence. .. .. .. But the people are extremely patient. This truth becomes manifest if he looks into the affairs of Kerala. The Reserve Police dragged Mr. Ramunni Menon out and made him run in the hot sun. .. .. .. As a result of such behaviour, three honorary first-Class Magistrates renounced their honorary offices and three vakils gave up their professions. Even from what the Anglo-Indian Press wrote about it, one can see that the people gladly bore

The vow of non-violence.

with patience the indignities offered by the ~~people~~ Police. This action of the Police only gave additional strength to the people's determination of purpose with regard to the non-co-operation movement. If the Government ~~also~~ also discard violence like the people, it will be possible for both of them to become purified and to form close friendship with each other. The Government are failing in their adoption of a repressive policy because they are not able to understand this truth. Lord Reading, has now reached the heights of Simla. He may be observing everything from there, surrounded by members of His Executive Council. But he cannot understand the popular opinion unless he comes down and mingles with the people and learns what the leaders have to tell him. He has not attempted to do any such thing as yet. When once he is caught in the bureaucratic machine, there can be no hope of his engaging himself in such a task. Already he has lost one good opportunity. In whatever way the Government may conduct themselves, if the people keep up to their pledge of non-violence strictly, they are sure to succeed ~~th~~ in their pledge of non violence strictly, they are sure to succeed in their attempts.

Doctor Slater's justification of The military Expenditure.

49. Commenting on Dr. Gilbert Slater's article justifying Indian Military expenditure, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 30th April, observes in its leader:- Even though more than 70 crores of rupees was spent under military expenditure, India had not thenecessity to oppose a foreign invasion. Excepting a few frontier troubles of a minor nature, she had not to engage herself in any defensive wars. The Indians, on the other hand, went to foreign countries and fought there. Under those circumstances, that India should be burdened with very heavy Military expenditure cannot but be surprising. The recommendations of the Esher Committee make it heavier still. And now the new publicity Officer supports this heavy military burden, flouting

the Indian public opinion. Mr. Gwynne, his predecessor, kept silence with regard to controversial matter. .. .. .. Doctor Slater asks has only repeated in his article what the Government members have said in the Legislative Assembly with regard to this question. It would have been better if he had published Lord Rawlinson's speech again. Doctor Slater asks whether Indian needs an army or not and observes that if she wants it she must bear the necessary expenditure. India need s not only an army but also sufficient clothing. She must be free from famine. Under such circumstances that Doctor Slater should say that all the money should be spent on the military head alone looks very unreasonable. He further says that the primary duty of the Government is to maintain peace. They must first see that the people lead a happy life. They must see that the people's birthrights are protected. When the people have no peace of mind, of what use is it merely to maintain outward peace? ~~Was it not fa~~) Why was the world-war waged? Was it not for the establishing world-peace? Was it not for that purpose that the League of Nations was formed? That being so, why should the Minitary expenditure be increased instead of being cut down? .. .. .. The extraordinary conditions existing in India cannot be found elsewhere. India is not threatened with any danger at the present moment. The Bolshevik menace has gone and the non-co-operation movement, far from exciting violence, is engaged in preaching the vow of non-violence -- so the argument that the army should be increased on that ground cannot but be unsound. .. ..

55. Under this heading, the DESABHIMANI, says in its leader:-

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The Indian National Flag.

Every nation should have a national flag, the very thought of which should excite the feelings of the nation and prepare its members even to sacrifice their lives for it. Mr. Gandhi has given thx in the YOUNG INDIA what shape the Indian national

flag should take. On the flag there will appear the picture of a spinning wheel. In the war of peace the spinning wheel serves the purpose of the weapon of SUDARSANA (God Vishnu's weapon) to destroy the wicked. The guns throw shells to a distance of a few hundred miles and destroy men. They commit horrible deeds and are a source of sin. The Weapon of the spinning wheel attacks the English who are thousands of miles off and will prostrate them. It will not destroy them but will put down their pride, arrogance and greed. In short it will destroy their bad qualities and will teach them to depend on self-help. Now being accustomed to appropriate money from India, they have ceased to depend on themselves and are eager to plunder India. If we establish spinning wheels and stop the annual flow to them of 60 crores of rupees, their pride will be put down and they will prostrate themselves. This confirms that the spinning wheel is the best means to secure to India economic independence and complete SWARAJ.

Booklet, 'Bharatagitamulu' confiscated.

57. Referring to the fact that the Government have taken possession of a booklet entitled BHARATAGITAMULU composed by the Headmaster of the National College Guntur, the DESABHIMANI remarks:- The British Government who never cared for anything had at last to fear even a piece of straw.

Equal justice.

63. In a leading article under the heading 'Equal justice', the KERALA SANCHARI, of the 27th April, admits the reputation of the British Justice for stainlessness, refers to the causes of the present unrest in the country as pointed out by a correspondent in the NEW STATESMEN and by Mr. Norton in the Imperial Legislative Assembly points out that the policy of repression followed by Government to check the progress of non-cooperation only tends to increase the strength of the non-co-ope

Non-co-operations and observes that to allay the present unrest in the country the repressive laws should be repealed, the policy of repression should be given up, and impression should be created in the people that the Acts of the rulers are just and they should resort restore the confidence of the people in British justice by dealing out even-handed justice to all. The paper also points out that Indians are extremely loyal to their King whom they believe to be the visible God on earth, that those who, as representatives of the King, are responsible to administer justice, should deal it out in such a way as to create contentment, peace and happiness amongst people, and that those who are opposed to the non-co-operation movement are struggling to check its progress at a time when they are proclaiming that the movement is dying out, and says:- What is the meaning of their action? Does it not show that the movement is gaining in strength? In any case non-co-operation, as some people think, is not conducive to the welfare of the country, but on the other hand, will be productive of harm and danger till the commotion caused by it has subsided. It is, therefore, high time for the Government and their officers as well as for the people to take all possible preventive measures.

Muhammadans and the Khilafat.

64. In an article under this heading "Muhammadans and the Khilafat" a correspondent, writing in the KERALA CHANDRIKA, of the 25th April, makes the following among the other remarks:- The cruel manslaughter in the Punjab has stirred up all Indians that have in them any fellow-feeling and national and individual self-respect. The breach of promise committed by English administrators in respect of the Khilafat has caused great agitation in the real Muslim world. To be brief, boundless ~~boundless~~ unrest prevails amongst all those who are acquainted with the satanic acts and frauds of these administrators who have not

the least tinge of sincerity in them. In any case, we cannot but congratulate English administrators on their demeaning acts. For, if those mean fellows -- those human wretches -- human brutes -- who, disguising themselves in the form of a deer, won for themselves the praises of the world, had not even now reveakedd their real form, i.e., of the Rakshaa Mareechan, we, Indians would have had to sacrifice our lives as their slaves for ever.

Tenants and non-co-operation.

67. Referring to the resolution ~~ta t~~ of the tenants not to co-operate with the jenmies in Malabar and to the obstinate attitude of the latter, the MITAVADI, of the 2nd May, writes in English as follows:- "It is for the Government to step into legislative in the spirit of the times, regardless of the howl, wested interest would necessarily set up. We hold the Government ~~as~~ also responsible for the present situation, jointly with the jenmies. .. .. .. Rightly or wrongly the belief is widespread that the Local Government have played themselves into the hands of the Jenmies. Sir., William Vincent's recent declaration, authoritatively made in the Imperial Legislative Assembly on behalf of the supreme Government, that, among other things, agrarian grievances wherever found, would be redressed, still remains to be ratified by the Local Government in so far as Malabar is concerned. Altogether the outlook is rather dismal for this unhappy district of ours and unless the Government intervene in time there would soon be evolved a second Ireland. We have repeatedly struck the note of warning and the Government cannot if things go worse, blame the moderates for inaction. The policy of rallying the moderates cannot be given effect to in Malabar without solving the agrarian question. The tenants are demanding the possible now, and if the policy of neglect, indifference and drift is continued, sure as night follows day they would demand the impossible. Let the Government take note of the coming storm.

We are not alarmists but have the misfortune to have correctly read the political barometer.

Import duty on cloth and the Objection of Lanchashire.

69. The MUKBIR-i-DAKHAN, of the 27th April, referring to the attempts of Lancashire mill owners to reverse the decision of the Government of India to raise the import duty on cloth from 7½ per cent to 11 per cent and to their suggestion that justice may be done by also enhancing, at the same, time the tax on Indian-made cloth, observes that, if this is done, surely the price of Indian articles will rise. Thus Lancashire will be benefited and the British exchequer will receive additional income-tax for owning to the prevailing high prices, very few will purchase Indian material.

The writer then refers to the views expressed by the LONDON TIMES and Mr. Asquith on this subject, and expresses great satisfaction at the reply given to Lancashire by the Secretary of State.

IV. NATIVE STATES.

Boycott of Christians.

72. In the second article under theheading "Boycott of Christians", the KERALA SHANDRIKA, of the 18th April, writes:- White men who came to India as traders, having fleeced the country of it wealth and having deprived the people of their freedom, now enjoy life as a sect of political Brahmans. Thirty one lakhs of dark coloured "white men" proud of their religious connection with the whites, have set out to support their satanic autocracy. Who are these coloured White men? Are they not Indians? Why do they not support Indian aspirations? Surely there are very good reasons for all this. It is the missionary bullocks that are drawing the chariot of British administration. They have no reins. There is a driver only for name. The Missionary bullocks desire to draw that ani-

quated chariot along avenues of Christianity. It is the missionaries that administer the British Empire. It is they that after landing in India killother religions with the tacit consent of the Government, carry on Gospel work and spread Christianity by Lawful unlawful means. .. .. .. The paper then points out that missionaries enjoy even greater power in Native States than in British India, as the administrative heads of these States are British officers who have to dance to the tune of the British resident and the missionaries to gain the approval and blessings of the British Government, that neither the Travancore Government nor the Cochin Darbar has helped the Muslims and their religions as they have done in the case of Christianity and the Christians, so much so that the latter are now able to trample under foot both Hindus and Muhammadans and that all this is the result of borrowing the services of British officers and asks whether the Diwan of Cochin, Mr. Vijayaraghava Achari, has not by his recent order interfered with the religious freedom of the people to an extent which even the British Government--the satanic British Government -- has not yet attempted.

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

3. The HINDU, of the 11th May, writes:-

"PROVOCATION"

Non-co-operation.

"What time apostates like Sir William Vincent are whispering soft nothings into the gratified ears of 'representatives' like Mr. Jamnadas and Mr. Rangachari, Mr. Thomas stands forth as a shining exemplar of an order of beings whose day, if we

are to accept assurances at face-value, is fled never to return.....
To a man with such a high ideal of duty before him it is almost axiomatic that he should not tolerate anything that could in the least disturb the placid contentment of his flock. To such men as Mr. Thomas the appeal issued by Government to its officers to combat the non-co-operation movement by every means in their powers is entirely superfluous. Mr. Thomas guards his pass whoever else may faint-heartedly truckely to the force of sedition. And to do himjustice he had succeeded in transmitting in its entirety that indomitable spirit to its subordinates, somuch so that it is matter for wonder that the inevitable explosion has been delayed so long. It is a little difficult to believe that the delay in an eventuality, which Mr. Thomas has come so much to believe a regrettable necessity as might cause him some disappointment of a detached character if it does not materialise, would be entirely due to the incarceration of Mr. Yakub Hasan and his associates. The reason for putting them in gaol was of course that th the flaming torch is safest away under the lock and key when there is conbustible material about. One wonders why since the policy seems to be a fatalistic acceptance of inevitable trouble, these leaders were clapped into gaol, except it were as a kind of touch-stone of the people's belief in non-violence. That belief has hitherto stood its trials exceedingly well. In the way of incitement to disorder Mr. Thomas is a host in himself. One has only to read the report of one of his attempts to play the heavy father, which will be found in the Congress notes published elsewhere, to recognise that he is an adept performer in the minatory ro role that is a more successful provocative of defiance than a direct incitement. The incidents at Ottapalam, the report of the non-official committee on which will be found elsewhere show how ably Mr. Thomas' efforts are being seconded, the only difference being that while Mr. Thomas waves the Big Stick figurative his assitants do it in a more literal sense. It is clear, tha

Non co-operation.

however, as the committee point out that there is behind both the same spirit of provocativeness which is graphically described as 'asking for trouble.' The facts adduced by the committee suffice to show that it was not a mere ebullition of animal spirits on the part of a fe w policemen trying to earn their pay but manifestation, crude if you will, of a policy of stamping out of the movement by allmeans in the power of officialdom. It is a policy which can have only one result."

5. NEW INDIA, of the 12th May, writes:- "Mr. Muhammad Ali, who declared amidst many other dangerous flourishes of rhetoric in his Madras speech that he looked forward to a termination of his career on the gallows, since the British Empire would come tumbling down with that unhappy event, is evidently fidgetting about the notice taken of that speech. .. .. .. So Mr. Muhammad Ali trusts that his position will not be misunderstood. He feels strong enough and capable enough to undertake if the Amir should find that identical mission is in his own interests and attempt to carry it out, he may count upon Mr. Muhammad Ali's support -- moral if the object be only political, and physical and financial if it be religious. We are glad that he has put his views so unequivocally."

Mr. Muhmad Ali.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.
POLITICS.
I. FOREIGN

12. Remarking that, though the reply of Mr. Duncan in the South African Union Parliament to the resolution moved in connexion with the report of the Enquiry Committee is apparently favourable to the Indians, there is no doubt that the plight of those there is still hanging in the air, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 9th Mary, applauds the suggestion of Rev. Mr. Andrews that the Government of India should ask the Colonial Govern-

The Indians in South Africa.

ment whether they will give equal treatment to the Indians ~~shxx~~ there or they (the Government of India) can get out of the British Empire altogether, and observes:- The Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastriyar, the representative for India in the Imperial Conference, should put this question. But need we say that we would never have been chosed by the Government as a repres sentative, if he is capable of putting such a question? So neither the Indians here, nor those outside India, can ever hope to be happy, until they obtain SWARAJ with the right of electing their own representatives.

13. Referring to the words expressed by the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri with regard to the present attitude of the Government of India towards the welfare of the Indians in the colonies, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 4th May, observes in its leader:- I. .. .. It was only after much persuation that the ~~that the~~ Government of India abandoned its old principles. Even now, the Government of the Fizi Islands are acting arbitrarily. Recently they sent out, of the Fizi Islands, Sadhu Visishta Muni. Nothing is yet known as to what steps the Government of India have taken to prevent the recurrence of such unjust acts. .. .. A secret agreement is stated to have been entered into between the Indian Office and the Colonial Government by which the Indenture system, abolished by Lord Hardinge, is allowed to continue for another five years in view of the profit of the planters. What was the attitude of Lord Chelmsford with regard to this matter? He exerted himself very much to give effec to this secret agreement. .. .. .. One must know how far the Government of India is prepared to translate their sympathetic words into real action. The Government of India must, as Mr. Andrews suggests, put this question to the Colonial Government. "Unless you behave justly towards the Indians, we shall separate ourselves from the British Empire." This point must be pressed in the ensuing Imperial

The true test.

Conference. .. .. .. This is the only true test of finding out the sympathetic attitude of the Government of India.

15. Writing about the difficulties of the Indians in the colonies, on theone hand, and India's representation in the Imperial Conference, on the other, the Andhrapatrika, of the 5th May observes in its leader under this heading:-

"Looks that this picture and that."

That India is represented on the Imperial Conference may be a matter for gratification. But it must be said that the present state of India is internally miserable. Though very showy for all outtward purposes. .. .. .. The Indians who have emigrated to Transvaal relying on the promises of that Government, have now no room to stand upon. .. .. .. Even Mr. Duncan, the Colonial Minister, is prepared to give his assent to repressive legislation. Only he wants some thought to be bestowed upon it and wishes the same to be introduced in the ensuing conference... As we have already said, in the countries like South Africa, there will not be much difference in actual practice between the words 'free and will' and 'compulsion'. .. .. .. From the above facts we can understand that the whitemen in South Africa are prepared to send away the Indian from that country and to subject those who engage themselves in trade nor can they acquire property. Hereafter, arrangements are being made not to allow them to live even in healthy localities. Such being the difficulties of the Indians in the colonies, of what use is India's representation on the Imperial Conference? When they are treated very badly inside the British Empire, what enthusiasm will they evince wit regard to 'Empires' and 'Imperial Conferences'? .. .. .. As India is useful to do service to the colonies, she must remain within the Empire. The Indians must put up with all hardships and try to procure profit for the colonists India must bear the burden of the whole Empire without fail, but she must not take part in the rights of the British Empire.

Under these circumstances, the place of India in the British Empire has to be determined in the Imperial Conference. Mr. Andhrews wishes that the Gover ment of India should press through their representative in the Imperial Conference that so long as the Indians are not treated equally with the colonists, India shall not have anything to do with the Empire. But there is no hope that the Government of India will press the demand firmly. .. .. .. India cannot overcome her present humiliation untill after she attains SWARAJ. UNless she attains freedom herself, she cannot work for the attainment of the world's freedom. India has a message to give to the world. The sooner the world knows it, the better it is for the well-being of the mankind.

A grand Khilafat meeting in Bombay.

19. The HILAL, of the 24th April, publishes the proceedings of the Khilafat meeting held in B mbay the 3rd April, in which Mr. Piethal, Moulana Shah Sulaman Sahib and Mrs. Sarojine Nayudu under the title of Nightingale of India made stirring speeches on the subject of the Khilafat and passed resolutions expressing dissatisfaction with the neutral attitude of the Allies in the present Turko-Grecian struggle.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) POLICE.

The police in Malabar.

21. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 5th May, makes remarks similar to those made by the MANORAMA of the 30th April, in article No.66 on page 558 of Report of No.19 of 1921.

Referring to the news published by the Calicut ~~correspondent~~ correspondent of the MADRAS MAIL THAT THE Government have sanctioned a sum of Rs.2,000 for the Police officers and constables who helped in maintaining order at Calicut when Mr. Yakub Hasan and others persisted in disobeying the order of the Magistrate that they should not address the public, the DESABHAKTAN, of the

9th May, says:- We do not know what difficult sitaation was created by Mr. Yakub Hasan and others. Such a situation was indeed brought by the officials themselves and the people put up with their highhandedness very patiently. Nevertheless, when the Government have come forward to reward the Police in Malabar, we would recommend that they should confer a high appointment on Mr. Thomas who is getting to be the hero of that district. We do not know what kind of reward the authorities propose to give to the Police of Ottapalam for their acts.

(K) GENERAL.

The anti-non-co-operation propaganda.

27. Referring to the trick which Surpanaka wanted to play upon Sri Rama in reviling Sita in order to bring him over to her side, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 30th April, writes: The anti-non-co-operators and the officlas are now trying to play the same old trick upon our people. We have only to pity them for their sincere interest, active efforts and ignorance in this matter. The people know very well who actually do good to them and who live upon their money. The time is long past when they could be decieived by a graceful look from the Europeans by the shaking of the hands with them, by their gentle smile and by the pleasing words of the Indian officials. It is necessary that the bureaucrats should understand that, if they wish to be popular in the opinion of the people, they should be really good.

In the course of a lengthy communication published in the TAMIL NADU, of the 1st May, the following observations find place among others:- The Hon'ble Mr. Ramarayaningar, has, in great haste, raised the toll from three to five annas. Unfortunatly he seems to have forgotten that this will be felt as a great hardship by the poor, especially by the non-Brahman poor. He is a good man himself; but official position will not let him remain quiet. In the present economic stress, the coutry can attain progress only if institutions are started for teaching

new industries to the people, they are raised from their low condition. Imposition of new taxes and counter-propaganda are not the things now needed. Will Mr. Ramarayaningar prevail upon the Government to cancel the new tax of about 19crores of rupees levied at present on the wealthy people co-operating with the officials and then evince his mercy for the poor? Otherwise, the status and prestige of these people will not avail the poor in any way, and the world wil mock at their words and actions and characterise the same as mere pretence and vail blabbing.

29. Loyalty. Referring to the words of Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai in his interview ~~ti~~ with a correspondent of the TRIBUNE, that it would be treason to the country to evince loyalty to this English officers, and authorities, who conduct the administration contrary to the wishes of the Indians, and prefacing its remarks with the observation that it is the ignorance of the 'whites' that makes them say that Indian Kings exercised absolute sway over their subjects, the TAMIL NADU, of the 1sta May makes the following observations among others:- The whites should know that Indian subjects dethroned many of their own kings who oppressed the people and exercised tyranny over them. Our Government would do well to bear in mind that certain Indian kings also shared the fate of Charles I and James II of England. How can love and loyalty dawn in the hearts of subjects towards a Government that harasses the people, emasculates them, shoves them into the pit of penury and makes them miserable for want of food and clothing. There is no act more unwise than that of striving to gain the love of the people by force. Some way may sing songs of loyalty to the Crown for fear of being harassed by the Government. How can anybody love the British who committed several highhanded acts since they come to this country and who are responsible for the Khilafat injustice and whose

difficult officials perpetrated fiendish acts in April 1919? While even Mahatma Gandhi, the embodiment of love, cherishes no affection for theGovernment which, instead of hanging the relentless man who murdered hundreds of innocent people, is giving him pension, how can the masses entertain any love for it? It will be no exaggeration to call those traitors to the country, who instead of adequately punishing the people that inflicted dishonour on their brethren and sisters and teaching them a good lesson, entertain a feeling of friendliness for them and act in co-operation with them?

The 'madness' of the authorieis.

31. Adverting to the order tof the Deputy Commissioner of the Lakshimiput district served on a teacher of a National school in Assam, prohibiting him from delivering lectures, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 2nd Mxxx May, remarks that the higher the sun of national feeling rises in the country, the greater seems to the extent of the aberration of senses with the authorities.

The Punjab and the Seditious meetings Act.

32. Referring to the communique issued by the Punjab Government extending the period of operation of the Seditious meetings Act in certain districts of the Punjab, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 2nd May, observes:- Though this Act is operative only in respect of seditious meetings, the tigers of bureaucrats, who are eagerly waiting for an opportunity to exhibit their temper, are ixxx interpreting the Act as they like and curtailing the rights of the people as far as it lies within their power. The Deputy Commissioner of Lahore prohibited under this Act the holding of meetings in connexion with the rrecent municipal elections there under the apprehension that the non-co-operators might succeed. Even the cat closes its eyes and thinks that all the world is steeped in darkness our bureaucrats believe that they hush up public opinion by the exercise of their powers.

Nevertheless, it permeates iward and attains consummation. The Victory gained by the non-co-operators in the municipal elections in Lahore bears full testimony to this truth.

35. Adverting to the news that Lord Reading has called for the records of cases against those convicted under the Martial Law and still undergoing the punishment inflicted on them, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 4th May, observes:- No truth will come out from a perusal of the records of cased heard and decided EXPARTE. At this juncture there is no other course open for the Government than to release the prisoners forthwith. If the Government are not inclined to do this, nobody, would object to their conducting a retrial of the cases against these prisoners openly. Nothing can be gained by merely truning over the record connected with these cases, unless the Government adopt either of the above course.

Prisoners under the Martial Law.

36. In its leader under this heading, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 6th May, writes:- Can those of our popular leaders, who were under the impression that repression would not increase under the administration of Lord Reading, that came proclaiming "justice", afford to keep quiet, seeing that repression is in full swing even now? Is there any hope, after hearing about the gagging and fettering of people and th determination with which patriots, victimised under sections 121 and 124 of the Indian Penal Code and section 144 Criminal Procedure Code -- convenient handles for the arrogant sway of the bureaucrats -- have been standing it, that the repository of justice will administer justice in the matter of the aspirations of the Indians in the same way as he did in England? The force of the official arrogance is becoming uncontrollable in the very first month of His Lordship's administration, and there is no knowing

"Repression".

what from it would assume later during his rule. Troops and ammunition have been got ready at a cost of 63 crores of rupees, only for the purpose of resorting to repression. The moderates have been dubbed representatives of the people and gained over by the Government only to prevent other countries from mocking at their repressive acts. Arrangements have also been made effectively for the Government to plead later, if necessary, that they acted only in pursuance of the suggestions of these self-styled representatives. As thus the Government have enough of money, men and help from others, an attempt may also be made by them, owing to excessive arrogance, to lacerate the feelings of the people by adopting blind methods of repression and the heart of the Indians, which is already wounded, may not be able to stand this. This may result in revolution and unrest throughout the country, which may in turn lead to the military resources of the bureaucrats being utlized against the people, while the only weapon of the latter will be the spinning wheel. Thus it is the followes of the non-co-operation movement that appear to be weak and this weakness can be made up only by their strength of mind. Considering that the bureaurats have all the faculties, the y will apply repressive measures blindly to the other party and drawing them into a quarrel, commit disgraceful acts, make numerous lives victims to the cannot and prove all the same that they are not to blame. What will not a Government venture to do, which dares to spend sixty three crores of rupees for saving one wretched Dyer -- a useless man belonging to a fiendish race, which attaches a greater value to its prestige than to the prosperity of the territories subject to it and which dares to lose even India for the sake of this one Dyer? So We need not mention here that we are seeing only the beginnings of repression.

The Expenditure of the Government.

37. In the course of a long leader upholding the plea for curtailment of expenditure by the Government but at the same time charecterising the argument adduced by the Brahmans in this matter as the outcome of jealousy, the DRAVIDAN, of the 30th April, says that, if salaries are to be reduced, it should be done equally in the case of all classes alike -- Brahmans non-Brahmans and Englishmen -- and not so as to affect only the non-Brahmans, who have just come up, and adds that the very object of the non-Brahman movement is to curtail gradually the enormous expenditure of the Government and secure equal treatment to all in the matter of salaries.

Non-co-operation.

38. Regretting that Mr. Gandhi has not yet realised that his own followers are often acting against the principles preached by him, the DRAVIDIAN, of the 30th April, refers to a communication from a correspondent in Karur, that the non-co-operators are creating much confusion in the place and that they are trying to cause harm to those who do not favour non-co-operation and to the non-Brahman gentlemen carrying an anti-non-co-operation propaganda and, remarking that it is because the Government were sleeping at the beginning that the non-co-operation movement has come to frighten the public now, urges them to take immediate steps to suppress the movement which is prejudicial to the peace of the country.

Appreciating the resolution of SWAMI Satyadev to disobey the order of the District Magistrate of Almora under Section 144 Criminal Procedure Code, prohibiting him from delivering lectures in any place within that district, the TAMIL NADU, of the 1st May observes among other things:- In civilized countries security is usually demanded only from persons who are likely to commit such crimes as murder, theft or robbery, and political propagandists are not treated like criminals. But, in our ~~countries~~

country, sincere and innocent patriots are treated ~~(like crimina)~~ worse than murderers. While even the English papers admit that the non-co-operators are preaching to the people to patiently put up with all the unjust acts of the Government and to refrain from ~~restoning~~ resorting to violence, the Government deem them to be agitators and demand security for good behaviour from them and it is no wonder that these refuse to pay it. It is only when some persons act like this that it will be possible for people throughout the country to adopt passive resistance in course of time.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 5th May, refers to an order said to have been passed by a Magistrate in the Central Provinces calling upon certain vakils, who have left their practice in pursuance of the non-co-operation movement, to show cause why their ~~SANDS~~ SANADS should not be cancelled, and remarks:- This is perhaps one of the many attempts of the authorities to crush the non-co-operation movement ! They have resorted to this methods as their efforts to hold meetings and delivery lectures on the advantages of co-operation have not proved effective. While the vakils have joined the non-co-operation movement and sacrificed their income solely for the purpose of establishing righteousness and truth and winning for the people their fundamental rights, is it fair to withdraw their SANADS? We would inform the authorities that whatever efforts may be made in the matter,, it will be impossible for them to shake this movement that has become deeply rooted in the minds of the people. It is pity that they should still be making experiments on the lines without understanding the force of the new spirit actuating the people now.

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 7th May, publishes some verses from the pen of a correspondent, which depict the people as walling over a wily and deceitful class of people having afflicted them in several ways for the last 150 years and expressing their determination not to put up with it any long and they resolve to follow the advice of Mr. Gandhi, deeming prison-life to be happy and sacrificing even their life if necessary to acquire their rights.

The spinning wheel.

39. A correspondent to the DESABHAKTAN, of the 5th May, quotes, with appreciation, an extract from a lecture said to have been delivered by Mr. C.R. Das at Calcutta to the effect that an Indian has to spend Rs.3-6-3, out of his annual income of Rs.20-6-3 for foreign clothes, that 130 crores of rupees are thus paid every year to those who are showering bombs on the Indians and ruining this country and that the question whether the Indians or the Englishmen should go to the wall hereafter depends upon the former taking to the spinnin wheel, and observes:- Nearly a sixth of the life-blood of the sons of Bharata is being drained every year through the wound of foreign goods and is lost. This ~~woun~~ wound will be healed only if the medicen of patriotism is applied to it and if it is bandaged by the coarse Khaddar cloth. To secure this the people of Southern India should begin to use a large number of spinning wheels.

The new Government and the Indian Service men.

40. Referring to the statement of a correspondent to the PIONEER that, if it is a fact that the Secretary of State for India has promised to give away lump sums of money to those Indian Civil Service men who are not inclined to work under the new Government and wish to return home, such officials and the Indians, who ~~xxxxx~~ want Europeans to leave India bag and baggage, should remind the Secretary of State of his promise, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 6th May, points to the fallacy of the impression and to the real recommendation of the Joint Committee and observes:- We do not know how many European officials have expressed their readiness to non-co-operate with the new Government and go home. What we see plainly is only the creation of several new appointments for Europeans and the crowding of a large number of them into India by every steamer. Nevertheless, will any member of the Legislative Assembly put a question as to how many Indian Civil Service Officials are for giving up their posts and

returning home, at least to enable the past people to know the real state of mind of the Europeans.

41. In the course of a leader appreciating the presidential speech of Mr. T. Prakasam of at the Provincila Conference in Ottapallam and condemning in strong terms that of Mrs. Besant at the Reforms Conference in Calicut, the TAMIL NADU, of the 1st May, says:- The non-co-operators believe that it is only by their movement based on soul-force that the Indians can hope to gain over the British Government which is committing unbearable atrocities by the application of physical force. There may be blood-shed as predicted by Mrs. Besant; but not a drop of it will be shed by means of those taking part in non-co-operation movement. Wretches of the stamp of Dyer may yearn for the blood of non-co-operators and make an Amritsar of every place in India and there is no doubt that those of the type of Mrs. Besant will help the Government in this. But both the Government and their supporters should know that, if even all the whites in India should follow the example of Dyer, the non-co-operators will not put a stop to their movement.

The Conferences in Malabar.

43. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 5th May, published the proceedings of a meeting held at Kundalur on the 2nd Idem at which Mr. Satyamurti is reported to have refuted the arguments of the European Missionaries and the Anglo-Indians that the rule of the ancient Hindu and Muhammadan kings was bad and remarked that the Englishmen now in India care only for their own interest and do harm to the people, that their same main aim is only to send away an enormous amount of money to their country, that caste distingtion is made much of under the present Government, which was not the case in the case of the Muhammadan rule. Another speaker at the same meeting is reported to have charged the

The Congress propaganda work.

the Government with setting up the Panchamas against the mirasidars in order to mar the union among them.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 6th May, publishes another lecture said to have been delivered recently by Mr. Satyamurti at Vishnupuram, in which again he has dwelt upon the hardships suffered by the people and the burden of heavy taxation on them and, attributing all of them only to the British administration, suggested to the people to refrain from paying taxes, as an effective means of bringing down the Government.

The creation of class hatred.

47. Remarking that, while the bureaucrats very often proceed against and get the Indians punished under section 153-A Indian Penal code, for creating class hatred, the fact is that it is the Anglo-Indian papers and the bureaucrats themselves that are creating such hatred, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 7th May, refers to the insinuation made in an order of the Deputy commissioner of Assam, on an inquiry about the conduct of a Deputy Tahsildar in actively engaging himself in the temperance movement and persuading people to abstain from drink, that the Bengalese are, as a class, adepts in concocting false cases, and observes:- No question is raised, if the bureaucrats make such remarks. If any other persons had employed the words contained in the order, there is no doubt that they would have been sent to jail by this time. Can there be a worse libel than what finds place in the above order? Lord Reading can infer from this the beautiful way in which the bureaucrats conduct themselves in India.

Mr. Gandhi.

49. Referring to the question raised by the DAILY EXPRESS, as to how long Mr. Gandhi is to be left alone, in spite of his being primarily responsible for all the offences committed in India the DESABHAKTAN, of the 7th May, observes:- We ask who is the cause of all the offences in the country. Is it Dyer, or

O'Dwyer who approved of his act, or Lord Chelmsford who allowed both of them to run amuck in the country or the Anglo-Indians and their papers who patted Dyer on the back, or Mr. Gandhi? If this paper has existed in the days of Jallianwallah or if it seeks information from the papers that were ~~in~~ then in existance, it will know that the root cause of trouble in the country was the forcible despatch of Mr. Gandhi by rail and the imprisonment of Satyapal, Kichlew and others. By suggesting now that Mr. Gandhi should be imprisoned, this paper seems to wish for the recurrence of Jallianwallah incident not in one place but in every locality. We would tell this paper that it is not on account of their generous intentions but purely for the purpose of self-protection that the Government of India have let Mr. Gandhi and the Ali brothers go free. This paper should only advise that, if it is the ~~device~~ desire of the Government of India to preserve its prestige and honour, it should not imprison 'the weak', while it has not done so with the 'strong.'

The struggle of the non-co-operation movement.

50. In an article under this heading, the DESABHIMANI, of the 9th January, writes to the following effect:- "Money is the root of everything and of every ideal', this is the ideal of the British, and their acts are all in consonance with it. Bernard Shaw says:" They send a missionary in quest of a market for the cotton goods of Manchester in the East. When the people of the east oppose him, they lead an expedition on the pretext of religion, gain a victory and appropriate the market as a gift of God." The root-principle of the British Empire is commerce in which money is all important. They have established a rule in India which would subserve the earning of money. The people in their guilelessness could not understand this trick and have become puppets in their hands. If they find an intelligent man they befriend him and win him over by conferring upon him the position of a Minister or the title

of a 'Diwan Bahadur'. They imprison those who oppose such acts and many patriots actuated by Love of liberty have pined in chains in prisons....... Mahatma Gandhi said that in the fight for freedom the prison is the gate-way of liberty and death, his salvation. .. .. .. He is firmly of opinion that SWARAJ will come before the year closes. In truth, he looks like an incarnation of VIRAT wielding the wheel of time in his hand. The Indians have to decide whether they would reject the leadership of this high-souled person and let go the opportunity or realise the mission of their lives by following the lead of that Divine Soul. May the glory of that Divine soul envelope all the people and stimulate them to the service of the country!

Imperial Bank and non-co-operation.

51. Referring under this heading, to the constitution of the Imperial Bank and the appointment of high-paid officials for its management, the DESABHIMANI OF THE 9th January, observes:- The Directors of the Bank are to be paid as much as the Governor of Madras, Calcutta or Bombay. We are of opinion that such an expensive system would not have been adopted if the share-holders had been consulted. .. .. .. In our opinion nothing can be more disgraceful than carrying on transactions with such banks in which neither the share-holders nor the people have any voice. .. .. .. If they refrain from doing so, there can be no doubt that these banks collapse in a moment.

Hate.

56. In its leader under this heading the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 7th May, refutes the idea of the opponents of non-co-operation, namely, the Englishmen and the moderates that it is a movement actuated by hate and destined to end in bloodshed, declares that it is essentially a SATVIC movement characteristic of the Aryans whose ideals radically differ from those of the westerners which are eminently materialistic, and makes

the following observations:- The Aryans know of no hate to their enemies nor bias towards their friends. They do not hesitate to lay down their lives for saving those of their enemies. .. .. Since the inauguration of the non-co-operation movement, political agitation in India has been weaned from mendicancy. It has proved to be a discipline in duty and is attracting the hearts of the Indians. The Indians are abandoning foreign decorations and are turning out pure in life. They have been assimilating the sacrifice of Buddha, the non-violence of Jainacharya, the KARMAYOGA of Sri Krishna into their national life. But there will be many a distracting force in a life of penance. .. .. .. It is not enough that the people alone recognise this principle. The authorities and their followers should incessantly ponder over the secret thereof. If ever hate and rebellious spirit manifest themselves in the people they are not alone responsible for it. The rulers are also answerable. .. .. .. If, without doing so, the rulers offer violence to the self-respect and honour of the people and ask them to forgive, what is the use of it? .. .. .. We perceive indications on all sides which point to the intolerance of the authorities and the evil heartedness of the police. This is the time of ordeal. In Ottapalam in Malabar the volunteers came out unscathed. The pilgrims in Bhadrachalam fared equally well. Malegaon and Ghiridhi have failed in their duty. We should steer clear of such crimes in the future. May young men devoted to herioc action especially note this'.. .. .. The Calumny of the English papers, the iniquities going on in railways and tramways the humiliations to which the Indians are subjected in the colonies, the meagre power conceded to the people in the present legislation, the selfishness of the English policy, the Punjab massacres, the Khilafat wrongs, -- -- These and many such causes have incited the people to an extraordinary spirit of hatred and rebellion. It is not possible to imagine what a horrible shape that mad rage would have assumed, had not non-violent non-co-operation come into existence. The authorities sought

to stifle this fire of indignation by brute-force. It was like chocking up a volcano. Readers of history know what would have resulted if this had been allowed to go on. Mahatma Gandhi apeared on the scene in this crisis fraught with danger, and he has been able to divert the anguish and rage overflowing in the hearts of the Indians into SATVIC channels and secure bliss to India. .. .. ..If this had been a country other than India, it would have been deluged with blood as a result of that burning rage.

58. Nationalists and moderates. Under this heading, the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 7th May, gives the conversation between Lala Lajpat Rai and a correspondent of the TRIBUNE at Bombay, which contains the following among other statements:- Lala -- The nationalists desire a Government completely determined by the people with their assent while the moderates desire one determined by British people and connected with the British Parliament. .. .. .. To consider such alien Government as in accordance with DHARMA and to bow to it, clearly manifests cowardice and treahcery to the country. To show loyalty to a Government other than our own, would be to discard the well being of our own people. .. .. The granting of imperfect privileges which are good for nothing at their will and pleasure is like throwing the refuse to another. This method is opposed to the idea of SWARAJ. .. .. .. If this sinful association between the authorities and the moderates fructifies and weakens the non-co-operation movement, it may be said that the moderates cannot escape the pressure of the boot of the bureaucracy. .. .. .. It is certain that the present repression is due to the co-operation of the moderates with the Government.

India's representatives to England.

60. Referring to the fo going of Diwan Bahadur Mr.M. Ramachandra Rao Pantulu and Hon'ble Mr. V.S.Sreenivasa Sastri to England to represent the Indians, the HITAKARINI, of the 2nd May observes:- This looks ridiculous under the present circumstances of the country and the prevailing ideas of the people. An inquiry has sprung up among the people as to whom these persons are going to represent. .. .. .. These representatives have nothing to do with the people. They aere opposed to the ideals of the people. Is it to ~~procialm~~ proclaim that it is the policy of the Government to act against the wishes of the people that they have knowingly appointed these/to represent people? ..... These representatives are among those who have been disappointed in their expectations of elevation to high offices. People have understood that this measure has been devised to satisfy them. What these representatives may secure may be something like those lifeless reforms which have been secured by other great representatives of us. .. .. .. People can understand that their appointment is calculated to throw an additional encumbrance upon a country already groaning under the weight of taxation. This is some ~~consolidation~~ consolation to these representative in their disappointment. This reminds of us the proverb that a dog's expectations meet with the response of a round stone.

Soul-force.

61. In its leader under this heading, the HITAKARINI, of the 2nd May, refers to the SATYAGRAHA of the Mavalas of Mulshipet of 'ancient historic renown' and makes the following among other remarks:- The police relax their efforts convinced that the force of their authority could not make headway against the power of SATYAGRAHA. The indignity sustained by Viswamitra in the presence of Vasishta has been repeated. .. .. .. The celestial voice was echoed from the Western Ghats to the effect that death in the fight for justice by which we live in eternal fame

is better than a corpse-like life in which we quail before brute-force, and ignominously yield to the love of money. We have yet to see what the Bombay Government are going to do. Can Soul-force meet with defeat?

The Non-co-operation movement.

65. The MANORAMA, of the 3rd May, points out that in general, there is no room to think that the non-co-operation movement is dying out as represented by certain section of the people and the press, but that, on the other hand, there are several instances to show that the movement is gaining strength day by day (the paper here refers to the case of the Chirala municipality) and suggests the formation of mediation boards in every district to watch the movement and to interpret it rightly to the Government. The paper thinks that these boards should consists of members from both parties, the District Collector should take part in its proceedings and acquaint the Government with the real state of affairs in which case, the Government will be saved from mistakes and the movement will gradually die out.

In a leading article under the heading 'Non-co-operation and riots' the, KERALAPATRIKA, of the 7th May points out that every Indian who has the welfare of the country at heart will admit that events like the riots at Malegaon will only ruin and not help the country apprehends non-co-operation disturbances in Malabar also, and advocates strong propaganda in the interior parts of the district to educate the people about the danger of the movement.

The MITAVADI, of the 9th May, also advocates a vigorous campaign against non-co-operation, and suggests that officials can do their part separately by helping to open the eyes of the common people to the dangers of the non-co-operation movement.

68. Adverting to the action of the Reserve Police at

The Ottapalam fracas.

Ottapalam, the MUSLIM, of the 4th May, says, Though the blow given by the police to those who are serving their country are didectly received on their body they indirectly hit the heart of the autocratic Government and the chain of slavery with which Indians are bound. The stronger the blows, the sooner will these two break. And this is the supreme object of non-co-operation.

69. The YOGAKSHEMAM, of the 6th May, points out that the

SWARAJ and the two parties in India.

people of India are mad after SWARAJ and in the opinion of experts nothing but the attainment of SWARAJ can cure the madness, while the Government party insist on the cure of madness as the condition precedent to the grant of self-government. Repression can only change the form of the disease, not cure it.

Turning to another aspect of the question it says:- If the Government really think that India should be given self-government they should make efforts (really think that India should be given self-government they should make efforts) to put a stop to inter-communal rivalry or strife which is said to constitute the one obstacle for the realization of self-government. (The Government are bound to refuse the imputation that instead of doing this they are actually trying to increase such rivalry. Ever since the Trichur riots we have our own misgivings about the intentions of the Government of India.)

71. The HIMAYAT, of the 30th April, referring to the sugges-

Boycott of English goods and India.

tions of non-co-operationists to renoucne titles, honarary appointments, councillorships, etc., and to boycott English goods, observes that it is hardly possible with people of modern tastes and ideas to boycott such goods as they cling to them

like their own shadow, and hopes that the new-fashioned non-co-operationists of India will follow the example of the National Assembly at Angora and give proof of their national self-respect and non-co-operation by boycotting Turkish red caps and substituting black head gear for them, as has been decided that the former are of foreign manufacture.

74. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 5th May, in reply to the MADRAS MAIL, which tried to prove that the Khilafat suzerainty was destroyed long ago in the days of the Islamic rule in the East and the West, asserts on historical grounds that the Khilafat has always been intact even to this day, without any break whatever, and observes that the statement of the MADRAS MAIL is erroneous and based on ignorance.

The Khilafat. A reply to the MADRAS MAIL.

75. The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, in this issue as well as in its previous one, discussing at length the marginally-noted subject, criticises the remark of the ENGLISHMAN on the ancient Muhammadan rule in India, and warns all peace-loving Muhammadans to beware of the views of self-admiring leaders who are spreading their deceitful snares to entrap them, otherwise the Hindus, who are our old enemies and whom Muhammadan politicians consider to be friends, will bring about our ruin.

Mr. Gandhi's advice and India's doom.

77. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 7th May referring to Mr. Muhammad Ali's refutation of the charge made against him to the effect that he is secretly intriguing with the Amir of Afghanistan, as true and sound, mentions the endeavours that are being made by the Anglo-Indian Press to brand him with infamy, and remarks that all this is intended to poison the mind of the

Moulana Muhammad Ali's reply.

new Viceroy against Mr. Muhammad Ali. Nationalists are well aware that this is a white lie. If this had been their intention why should they have accepted non-co-operation, and in support of the movement, suffered imprisonment and deportation.

IV. NATIVE STATES.

Native States and non-co-operation.

80. Referring to the order passed by the Gwalior State proscribing the circulation of the KESARI, the AMRITA BAZAAR PATRIKA and certain other papers within the State and the sale, distribution or possession there in the photographs of those punished for seditious acts and of the leaders of the non-co-operation movement, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 4th May, remarks that the measure that some of the Native States have recently begun to adopt are strange measures that some of the Native States have recently begun to adopt are strange and observe:- We never thought that such wonderful things would happen in the Gwalior State. The Maharaja of Gwalion has, by his act, made the Raja of Pddukkottai a better man than himself. The authorities of Native States will only be inviting the non-co-operation movement, if they resort to such foolish measures with the idea of ~~dixxxxxxing~~ discouraging its appearance in their States.

For the week ending 21st May 1921.

No.21 of 1921.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

India and Afghanistan.

6. Remarking that both the Afghans and the Russians are looking upon India with spite, the DRAVIDAN, of the 12th May, observes:- Mr. Gandhi and his confederate Mr. Muhammad Ali are giving ill advice to the Indians that, if these Afghans invade India, they should not pppose them but should see that they (the Afghans) drive the English Government out of India. Mr. Muhammad Ali states that the British administration is not conducted on proper lines in this country and that he might help the Amir in case the latter should wage war with such a Government. ~~Be~~ But it is certain that all the Indians, who sincerely wish for their own good and for the good of the country, will support the British administration.

Indians in South Africa.

8. Remarking that next to England, India has contributed the largest number of soldiers during the recent war and even as regards the number of those that have sacrificed their lives., India stands next to England, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 12th May, points to the fact of South Africa having sent to the battle field only about one lakh of men, out of whom not even about 5,000 persons seem to have lost their lives, and says:- Need we describe the mean way in which the whites in South Africa treat the sons of India which sacrificed men and money for the Empire to a very large extent? England, too, is simply looking at the mean acts of these white colonists. We need not say how England herself is treating the Indians now.

The MUKHBIR-i-DAKHAN, of the 11th May, discussing at length the helpless-condition of Indians in South Africa to which

they have been reduced by the Union Government, remarks that

The helplessness of Indians in South Africa.

if this state of affairs continue not only India but the whole of Asia will be indignant, and that the effect of it all upon the Imperial Government will be pernicious. The Indian Government should strongly protest against this policy of opposition in the London Conference should strongly protest against this policy of opposition in the London Conference where the representatives of all the colonies of India will meet. It is incumbent on the Imperial Government to check the revolutionary ideas of the South African Government and to warn them of the evil effect the pursuing of such a course will have upon their internal and foreign policy.

12. In its leader under this heading, the DESABHIMANI,

Wail of distress:.Indians in Mesopotamia.

of the 8th May, writes:- The wealth of India suffered no diminution by the plunders of Muhammad Gazni and Tamerlane. But after 150 years of British rule, this land of harvests and mines of gems, has come to a condition when her sons are without food to eat and cloth to wear. The power of time is indescribable, and the wealth of India remains only in ancient books. In keeping with the proverb that hunger grows moreintense in poverty, as India has been impoverished, her material wants have multiplied and her spiritual life has waned. A life of freedom had disappeared and only slavery is one the increase. The average man has no b read nor any field for work. India is filled with goods turned out in foreign factories. Where is there any scope for hand labour? People took to English education as a means for eking out a living. .. .... They have been thus reduced to a slave mentality and fancied that an abject life of service is a great position. The spiritual life and devotion of the people have thus been stamped out and yielded place to a thirst for offices. .. .. .. At the time of the British occupation

of Mesopotamia, poor youths were allured by tempting ~~officers~~ offers of pay to abjure their hearth and home in their land of brith for the sake of service in a foreign country. .. .. .. As is natural to them, the British have forgotten their liberal promises and merciful attitude and began to remind one of the words of Abdul Rasul to the effect that Englishmen, as soon as they cross the channel and come to have any dealings with races whom they consider as inferior to them, abandon their devotion to justice and poverty and their conscience even. .. .. .. The condition of the Indians there is growing more and more intolerable. The heart of which Indian fails to feel a thrill when he finds them giving expression to " our plight is more horrible than that of the Indians in South Africa and Guiana?" Whose adamantine heart can help breaking when their cry is heard "all the promisses heretofore made to us are broken. There is no salvation for us. Deliver us O Mahatma?" The eyes of which Indian can help shedding tears when he hears that these have been reduced to ashed by the fire of the wrath of the Arabs? When, besides these horrors, some of them are appointed as scavengers or are given 25 stripes, being unjustly accused of crimes, or are insulted in many ways that cannot be described and cry "are we not your countrymen? Will you not listen to our complaint?" Would the Indians, if they have self-respect and cherish honour more than life, look with unconcern and remain in indifference? What else can they do? When owing to the loss of freedom, we are confronted with great insults in our own country, what is the use of our deploring the misery of other lands? The fire of insult that was kindled in the Punjab has not yet subsided. What can we do? Caught in the meshes of KALI, the Indian has been rendered useless. Arise! O Indian! Arise and awake! turn your eyes to the four quarters and listen to the wails of distress emanating from them! Realising that it is not just on your part to be indifferent any longer, undertake the fight for freedom! Be an incarnation of peace; command self-control-; prepare yourself for sacrifice;

leave all thought of violence; realise that the salvation of your nation lies only in an attitude of non-violence!

15. Observing that the whites in Natal have firmly resolved to, somehow or other, send away the Indians bag and baggage from Natal, the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 16th May, in an English article, under this head-line, remarks:-".. .. .. Unless the white people look upon the brown people as their brethren and unless they learn how to treat them on a footing of equality, they will soon discover that the days of their material supremacy are numbered. One Dyer has convinced the people of the world that the western civilization is not what it is represented to be. One Dyer has created millions and multi-millions of Gandhis. The tide of this conflict of civilizations has begun to roll with an irresistible momentum. May God steer its course enable the British Empire to outlive its onset. May wiser counsels prevail among the whites who are dominated by such aggressive colour feelings, which, if not successfully curbed, will have the effect of undermining the Empire on which the Sun never sets."

The brown peril.

16. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 11th May, referring to the order issued by the Government of Madras directing Government Servants to take part in the anti-non-co-operation movement, questions their ability to attain success. The writer then discusses the present enlightened condition and plucky attitude of the community for whose every man, woman and child imprisonment has no terrors, and observes that the Government do not act according to law but make the law to work their will. The nationalists complain that by such powers the Government have become bold and by such actions they exhibit their unfitness to rule the country.

The army of Government Officials have received their orders.

The PIONEER and Maulana Muhammad Ali.

17. The QAUMI REPORT of the 12th May contradicting the rumour that Maulana Muhammad Ali sent a letter to Afghanistan through a spy, observed that it is a work of selfish friends who want to break up the Hindu-Muslim unity and create enmity between the two communities, and adivses the Hindu community not to be led away by the false idea that Mr. Muhammad Ali wishes Afghanistan to rule over India. The British Government can only rule a country where there are national DISSENSIONS. Since the differences between the Hindus and Muslims have disappeared the jihuzoors of the Government and sellers of their nation have devised these means to create disagreement again by frightening the Hindus with the name of Afghanistan.

Mr. Muhammad Ali.

Adverting to the statement said to have been made by Mr. Muhammad Ali that he would help the Amir if he declared war against the enemies of Islam, the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 14th May, in an article, writes: Whatever the interpretations put upon this statement of Muhammad Ali, the true meaning seems to be that ~~thebhat~~ the ~~ne~~ enemies of Islam are his enemies, that he has no sympathy for the Government of India who are creating trouble and that if India attains freedom and SWARAJ Afghanistan will be free ~~free~~ from all fear. .. .. .. If the British Empire is to last for ever, the Government of India should see that the British justice is not jeoparadized. It is the duty of the British ~~if~~ to protect every religion. It is not wrong on the part of Muhammad Ali to demand that Islam should be protected. It will be to the lasting good of the British, if the British Gvernment adopt only peaceful methods. If they fail to do so, it is nothing wrong to ask them to follow a peaceful course. ~~If-~~ Wholesome advice, though not palatable, should be given at all costs. Besides, it is not wrong to say that Afghanistan will be free from anxiety if India gets liberty. Every one will have to admit the fact that the whole world will be free from fear if the British people/ remain righteous.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Police.

The Police at Ottapalam.

19. Adverting to the conclusions arrived at by the non-official committee which inquired into the incidents at Ottapalam, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 12th May, observes:- We need not dilate upon the qualifications and the impartial attitude of the members that sat on this committee. The Government have not, up to this day, issued any communique on this subject, though it is more than a fortnight since the incidents took place and much grief and displeasure have been caused to the public in consequence. Our friends can infer what the truth is from the report of the committee and the silence of the Government.

Referring to the report published by the non official inquiry Committee with regard to the Ottapalam disturbances, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 12th May, observes:- Even the representative of the MADRAS MAIL CONDEMNED the indiscreet action of the police and praised the self-control of the non-co-operators. The Enquiry Committee said that the misdeeds of the Reserve Police would come under the pale of the Criminal law. It spoke of the existence of a conspiracy to disrespect some of the non-co-operation leaders and said that Mr. Hichcok, the Police Superintendent, the local police took part in it. In its own words the committee said "It is our opinion that the Government have not discharged their duty of keeping peace and order on the 26th of April, even though such a responsibility devolved on them."

Ramanavami festival at Bhadrachalam.

20. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 19th May, in an English article under this heading, strongly criticises the action of the Bishop, the Assistant Superintendent of police in tearing away and trampling under foot the Photo of Mr. Gandhi and pro-

ceeds to observe thus:- " .. .. .. To tear Mr. Gandhi's photo and trample it under one's Boots is a sacrilege, outrageous to all feelings of divine humanity. If all that is stated in the letter is true, we cannot but pity Mr. Bishop on his inexcusable act of vandilism. It would have been sufficient for his purpose if he had simply refused permission to carry the photo of the MAHATMA in the procession intended for Rama. He certainly exceeded what he fancied to be his duty on the occasion. Those who are invested with power over the freedom, lives and property of people should be men gifted with discretion. If indiscreet men are invested with discretionary powers, they may put up the Empire to auction and die in a Lunatic Asylum. It is on this account that political philosophers hold that those who are responsible for the welfare of the people should either be philosophers or should know how to philosophise well. We hope that this matter will engage the serious consideration of His Excellency Lord Reading".

(e) LOCAL AND MUNICIPAL.

A victory for non-co-operation.

22. In a note under this heading, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 12th May, refers to the elections to the new Municipal Council of Rajahmundry having resulted in the return of a large number of non-co-operators, and says:- It appears the Government and the Ministers of the JUSTICE PARTY have been perturbed by this and that no nomination has yet been made by the Government to the seven seats reserved therefor. They do not seem to have opened the new Council yet and they are reported to be adopting various tactics in this connexion. The people have become enraged at this and condemned the Act of the Government.

(k) General.

31. Referring to the news that some officials have threatened

Disturbance.
~~Distribution~~ in the Malabar Temple.

the Pandara Sannathi, who is a member of the Madura Devastanam Committee, the DRAVIDAN, of the 11th May, writes:- This fact finds place in a report on the recent distυrbance in the Madura temple. The Pandara Sannathi is threatened by some oficials in Madura on the score that he is wrong in supporting the cause of non-Brahmans. But we do not know how far this is true. Even if it happens to be true, how are the officials justified in threatening him? It is not proper on the part of the Government to keep quiet without paying heed to the serious displeasure caused to the non-Brahmans in connection with this disturbance.

~~(33. The NAVASAKTI, of the 6th May, contains s~~

34. Adverting to the session at Simla on the 17th May of

The 'Repressive Laws' Committee.

the committee to consider the lines on which the Press Act and other acts relating to newspapers may be amended, the NAVASAKTI, of the 6th idem, observes:- The Indians have been raising a unanimous hue and cry that the Press Act and other repressive measures should be completely deleted from the Statute Book and that no kind of amendments made therein. If the Government should, however, consent with the co-operation of the moderates, to retain these after modifying them in a way, they will only be deemed to perpetuate the dissatisfaction that obtains in India at present. We expected that the Government would have learnt a lesson from these cruel repressive laws. But they have not!

<u>SUMMARY</u>. 36. <u>SWADESAMITRAN? of 9th May 1921</u>.

Reply to the Address presented by Bombay Correspondent
Lord Reading.
Corporation promised to enquire and ascertain true causes of the discontent prevailing among people - Mere expansion of the councils and the appointment of some Indians to high offices will not give satisfaction - The difference between the Indains and Europeans in the administration must be done away with - The differentiation which is seen in the Punjab affairs should cease - Repressive policy must be abandoned - Resolution must be moved in the Council of States that a conference of the members of all political parties under the Chairmanship of the Viceroy, should be summoned and proper remedies should be adopted without delay - If the Viceroy wants to take steps without listening to others he should do so immediately,

II. <u>DESABHAKTAN</u>, of the 9th May 1921.

Lord Reading should not be deluded by the bureaucrats; should also understand how justice is slighted by I.C.S. Officials in the country - How they harass patriots - Should understand that in a country under foreign rule patriotism is often deemed sedition - He has not yet realised present situation here - That is why he has not yet condemned the unjust acts of the bureaucrats or referred to minor troubles caused by N C O.

III. <u>DRAVIDAN</u>, of the 10th May 1921.

Gandhi's compaign of Vilification of Government creates feelings of hatred in the minds of the people - N C O weakened by the Non-Brahman movement in Madras - If things are done in the same spirit in other parts of India it will disappear soon.- Viceroy's observation about the administration of justice without distinction of caste or class - If, in persuance of this, he does away the distinction between the Europeans and Indians, he will not root out the discontent. Non-Brahman movement is said to be actuated by this ideal.

IV. SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of 18th May 1921.

Lord Reading straining every nerve to bring the principles of British righteousness into play - The continuance of the autocratic acts of the local authorities - In the opinion of people orders of Districts have become mandates of Nadir Shah - Such is the condition of the country - Lord Reading and British Government are expected to steer clear through all this.

37. Appreciating the presentation by Lady Willingdon, of a piano for use in the Recreation Hall in the Madras Lunatic Asylum, a correspondent to the DESABHAKTAN, of the 11th May points out to the news that this hall is intended only for the English and Anglo-Indian Lunatics, and observes:- It appears the Indian lunatics are not allowed any access to this hall; nor ;do any such facilities seem to have been provided ~~separated~~ separately for them. These Indians are confined there like beasts in a forest. When this asylum is run by the Government only wih the taxes largely paid by the Indians, the Indian lunatics are caged like beasts while the Englishmen, who have come to India for earning their livelihood are provided with all conforts. Look at the arrogance of the authorities who have ventured to act thus! Is it in appreciation of this partiality that Lady Willingdon presented a piano? Well! The white is white and the black is black. Birds of a feather will only flock together.

Racial difference in the Lunatic Asylum.

40. Referring to the vilification of Mr. Gandhi by the MADRAS MAIL for his statement about the half to be rendered by the Indians in case of an Afghan invasion, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 12th May writes:- We would assert that the very fact of Mr. Gandhi having to give expression to such a view shows clearly the evil nature of the British Government. Mr. Gandhi looks with impartial eyes on all sentients beings and he has immeasurable

Mr. Gandhi and the MADRAS MAIL.

love for the land of Bharata. If there are any in the world who deserve the appellation of pretenders and traitors to India, they ase only those who conduct the administration now and the ap papers and the politicians that support them. Leaving this alone, it will be the duty of the nationalists toward off an attack upon their country by foreigners and drive them out. We ought not to allow the foreigners, who attack our sacred land of Bharata with a view to rule the same, to set food on this soil. If our ancestors had realized this, we would not at present be living under the banner of foreigners as victims of the bar-brutality of Dyer and the mischief of O'Dwyer. We think it will be stupidity on our part fo to commit the same blunder that was committed by our ancestors. The object of an attack of by the Amir may be the English Government. But it is our land that will become a battle field, then, and it will certainly be suicidal for us to keep quiet and allow a war/to proceed. We therefore, hope that, in case such a contingency arises, the people of India, be they Muhammadans or Hindus, will bear arms and try to prevent the enemy from entering into the country.

The non-co-operation movement.

44. The TAMILIAN, of the 27th April, remarks that, judged from the history of every free country in the world, the scheme promulgated by Mr. Gandhi, for acquiring liberty for India will doubtless provoke laughter from the wise and adds that the principle of anon-co-operation started by him has resulted only in creating unrest and disunion in the country.

The Issues of the DESABHIMANI, of the 8th and 15th May and that of KISTNAPATRIKA of the 14th May give statics showing the progress of non-co-operation in the Guntur District. The latter issue of the DESABHIMANI contains a statement from the pen of a correspondent to the following effect:- The prohibition of Drinking is going on apace in this wi village (Anupalgam, Sattenapalle). Twelve gallons of arrack received for sale on the New

Year's day were returned. Shoes were tied to one who drank and he was led in procession.

The VRITTANTA PATRIKA, of the 19th May, contains the following among other sentiments from the pen of a correpondent:- The non-co-operation movement, instead of producing any good, only leads the country on towards anarchy. The British Government have done everything in their power to satisfy the aspirations of the people in various ways. Besides, the present Government have allowed every lattitude to the non-co-operations themselves who style the Government satanic. A moment's consideration will convince these non-co-operators that no such lattitude had at all been allowed to the people during the regimes of any of the former kings of India.

The Government Servants' conduct.

45. Remarking that Government Servants appear to have placed at the disposal of the Government not only their time but also their capacity, conscience and freedom, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 18th May, refers to the order of the Local Government dated the 2nd idem, which, in the opinion of the paper, loses a little the chains that are binding these servants, without at the same, time, increasing their liberty, and observes:- The liberty granted to Government servants by this order is very wonderful. They are said to be at liberty to object in public meetings to the arguments brought forward by the non-co-operators and they are also enjoined to show openly that they are enemies of this movement. For the fault of serving the Government for wages and eking out their livelihood, the Government servants have, in future, to counteract the efforts of their country-men to attain freedom. This is grand liberty indeed! Another secret too has come out in this order. Though the Government have not in so many words directed the members of the Legislative Council to work against this movement, they express their conviction

that these members will set their faces against it strongly. If the Government can fully believe that the representatives of the people will oppose a movement, which is carried on with zeal by the people from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, is it necessary to say more openly what they think of the representative capacity of these members? The Secretary to Government could have abstained from writing in this fashion at least on grounds of policy But how long can a secret of this nature be kept close? Now it is clear that the Government regard the Members of the Legislative Council as the van guard of its official army. It has become the duty of Government servants to be present at meetings convened in opposition to the non-co-operation movement. We think that, after reading this order which seems to purchase even one's conscience, self-respecting Government servants will get disgunsted with their official position. We also expect that many of them will sever their connection with the Government on this account and come forward to work for their motherland. Many have held before this that it would savour of treachery for oan's country for one to seek Government service, when the country be bereft of freedom. It looks as if the Government have issued this order only to prove that the above opinion is not incorrect. Whatever action the present officials may take in regard to this matter, we trust that all leastfeature aspirants for Government service will go through this Government order carefully, and, avoiding Government service, seek other means of livelihood. We certainly believe that these will not sell away to Government all their rights for a mess of pottage.

Criticising in its leader under this heading the recent Government Order regarding the duty of the Government servants in respect of the non-co-operation movement, and the comments of the MADRAS MAIL refuting the attack of the HINDU THEREON. the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 16th May, observes to the following effect:- The statement of the MADRAS MAIL that Government servatnts cherish within themselves some sympathy towards the aspirations

of the people is not without truth. If they have no such sympathy, they do not deserve to be called Indians. There can be no such conflict between public service and patriotism in countries, ~~expecting~~ excepting those that are dependent like India. .. .. The Government of India being bureaucratic is not responsible to the people. Whatever movement the people start for the progress of their country, the authorities and the Anglo-Indian papers are in the habit of stigmatising as revolutionary. .. .. .. The MAIL proclaims that those who hold within themselves that non-co-operation is good are all enemies and counsels that they may be dismissed from service. Lord Lytton has said that the causes that have led up to the non-co-operation movement have to be removed. Has he to be removed from his Office as the Under Secretary of State? Which public servant can indicate the Punjab insults and the acts of the authorities there which neither the Hunter Committee nor the Government of India could justify? How can even Government Officials condemn the non-co-operation movement started to redress the Punjab and Khilafat grievances? With what conscience can they condemn the establishment of the spinning wheels, national schools and Panchayat Courts? .. .. .. There is no doubt that a majority of them think exactly as the people do; but unable to transgress the limits set for their action, they cannot show open sympathy. If all such officials be removed from public service, the Government will be forestalling the Congress in the matter of putting into practice a stage of their programme which the Congress itself chooses to defer for the present. This order of the Government and the MAIL's exhortation would only serve to swell the numbers of the members of SWARAJ service.

46. Mr. Thomas of Malabar. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 13th May, publishes a contribution from a correspondent, who reports Mr. Thomas, the District Magistrate of Malabar, to have reminded the Secretary of the Cannanore Khilafat Committee that he is the District

Magistrate and threatened him that if he rose against the English, he would be hanged and his property confiscated, and observes:- We need not say who Mr. Thomas is for the odium, that he it was that got Mr. Yakub Hasan imprisoned, has spread throughout the world. Why should Mr. Thomas have behaved as mentioned above? His skin is white, and there is the bureaucracy to support him whatever injustice he maye commit. Another reason is that he entertains the haughty idea that the whites are heaven-born. Further, the officials under this Government think that they can act as they like. He put the question to the Secretary of the Khilafat Committee, "Do you know who I am?" But we would ask him, "Do you know who we are?" If he does not know, we shall tell him; "We are not savages like you to act rudely. We are descended from a line of saints. We possess nobility, a love of truth and firmness of mind. We will not be afraid of the threats of public servants like you who are working for wages so as to earn a livelihood. We are capable of clearly pointing out to you your brutish nature by our righteous methods and soul-force, and of making you prostrate at our feet and beg pardon."

53. The clarion note of triumph. In its leader under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 14th May, refers to the arrival of Messrs. Gandhi and Lala Lajpat Rai at Simla, declares that if Lord Reading desires to ascertain the Settled aspirations of the people and the causes of the unrest prevailing in the country , there can be no others more competent to throw light upon the matter than Messrs Gandhi and Lajpat Rai, quotes the opinion of the MADRAS MAIL on the interview of His Excellency and Mr. Gandhi observes that the same opinion prevails among the authorities, doubts if Lord Reading also shares in that view refers to the repressive measures adopted in Kerala and the Andhra country, observes that it may only contribute to the spread of the movement, and adds:- What is now wanted is

~~word~~ action, not words. The Andhra Country should set about discharging its share of the three-fold duty prescribed by the All-India Congress Committee. Any repression on the part of the authorities in the matter will only serve to open the eyes of the people wider towards this cause. The authorities have no scope to punish those engaged in the discharge of this three-fold duty. Even if they stoop to so punish, it will only bring out clearly the forbearance of the pople and the arbitrary character of the officials acts. This will without fail accelerate the attainment of SWARAJ. The pelple clearly know their duty in the matter Mahatma Gandhi would have explained to Lord Reading the duty of the rulers. It would be well both for the rulers and the ruled to follow the advice of the Mahatma. The Clarion note of the triumph of non-co-operation is being echoed from the Himalayan peaks. It is the triumph of truth.

54. The HITAKARINI, of the 25th April, peproduces in Telugu an article of Mr. Gandhi under the head-note "anarchy is desirable", which contains:- I believe that a state of war is more desirable than an effiminate life of peace enforced by the help of weapons. That is why I am taking part in the non-violent non-co-operation, even though anarchy may result therefrom.

Anarchy is desirable.

60. ~~In its leader un~~ A correspondent writes under this heading in the DESABHIMANI, of the 15th May, to the following effect:- Western rule which violates liberty is a potent cause for the present fallen condition of India, once so presperous. I need not enter in detail into the defects of administration which are quite plain. The Khilafat question the Punjab disorders repressive laws and punishments, exchange devices, heavy taxes, high salaries, subterfuges, false prestige, wasteful expenditure -- In short arbitrariness are points in proof of it.

Is not SWARAJ necessary?

It is indisputable that time-honoured traditions, religious, social, and moral xxx economic, and intellecutal have been at stake. The life and honouur of the ruled ~~is alone prop~~ and their all are at the disposal of the rulers. A rule approved by the ruled is alone proper, and one annoying to them is indeed a demoniacal rule. .. .. .. The discussion of the budget in the recent Legislative Assembly is a case in point. .. .. The co-operators will at least now be ashamed of themselves and work for the good of their country. Non-co-operation is the only refuge for the liberation and prosperity of India. .. .. .. It is quite just that when a Government acts arbitrarily setting naught the wishes of the people, the people should act with freedom going against the wishes of the rulers. .. .. .. We have lost our liberty which can only be regained by SWARAJ. SSWARAJ is not in xxx the hands of our rulers. It is in those of the ruled. A Government that is like a vessel of poison covered over with milk, will devise tricks to multiply internal dissensions such as those between the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans, the Mussalmans and the Hindus, the Christians and the non-Christians, the moderates and the extremists,. Such differences are an evil to the country. They must be discarded. I. .. .. It is an illusion that SWARAJ will be granted by the rulers. It rests with the efforts of the Indians.

62. A correspondent to the DESABHIMANI, of the 17th April, writes some verses to the follow-ing effect under this heading:-

The Punjab Massacre.

Do not forget the Punjab massacres. They stripped women of their clothes and dishonoured them. The foolish Dyer belaboured boys and caused them to swoon. The westerners made people to crawl on the road. They whipped innocent and honourable men without mercy. Is it possible to narrate all the murders committed?

The honour of the country has been violated. Awake and see. Were not men and women dishonoured in the Punjab? The foolish and evil-minded Dyer shot the men assembled at Jallianwallah bagh. Boys were whipped severely. They caused innocent and unarmed men to crawl on their bellies in the streets. The westerners arrested all the leaders cruelly. They cut the throats of votaries of the mother without any thought of sin. The aeroplanes of the time of destruction threw bombs. People perished wailing and houses were levelled to the ground by the bombs. The King has not impaled the wicked men who committed the horrible deeds. Why should be friendly with the white enemies(?) until we attain SWARAJ. We have taken in the hand the sword of peace and are bound to succeed.

64. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 16th May, in an English article under this heading,

A call to arms.

criticises the revised rules governing the conduct of Government servants in regard to taking part in politics, and observes:-".. .. .. These rules penalise the nationalistic propaganda in the country and have the effect of harassing public and political workers who fight to bridge the gulf between India and England. The sooner these rules are repealed the better it would be for the British Empire. These rules have the effect of arraying the whole of patriotic India not only against England but against the very Indians who are willing to sell their conscience to feed their stomachs. The history of the world furnishes us with numerous examples to show that unconstitutional acts lead inevitably to revolutions which make short work both of tyrants and their victims. We hope the Government of India will cooly reconsider the effect of these lawless rules and suspend their operation at least for the present, seeing that India is seething with discontent. It is not wisdom to create forces which will drive people, who differ from one another in many points of interest, into one united camp. Auto-

 ~~cracy has its limits. We~~

cracy has its limits. We must not push matters beyond the limits of elasticity. We hope that His Excellency Lord Reading and his advisers will cooly think over the disasters that are likely to follow the enforcement of these revised ruled.

665. Remarking that the British, from the time they stepped on the shores of this country, have made it a point to increase the military expenditure on some pretext or other, and criticising the pamphlet recently issued by the Publicity Bureau on the question of Indian Military expendirue, the KANTHIRAVA of the 10th May in a leading article, writes:- The one reason given in the bureau Pamphlet for the increase in military expenditure is that the Indian soldier has to be placed on a footing of equality with the British soldier in the matter of supplying him with various physical comforts. We are not told why our sepoy who has all along been leading a simple life has suddenly contracted all the luxurious habits of the English soldier during the days of the Great War. The Indian sepoy and the English soldier have tended to increase the military expenditure of this country by the simple reasonof being comrades in arms for some time. If it is to be taken for granted that such an enormous expenditure is essential to keep the sepoy happy, the question naturally arises whether his lot was miserable in the past. Though the Indian soldiers has made a name by being utilized in foreign expenditions, his responsibility as regards the internal defence of this country has not increased in due proportion to the additional taxes levied on the Indian tax-payer on account of increased military expenditure. The real secret is that this is all due to the "Imperial military policy" whose one aim is the protection of the Empire as a whole. But what a costl y policy it is.

Indian Military expenditure.

Writing on the same subject, the SWADESABHIMANI, of the 13th May, in a leader, observes:- We wish to place before the Public what Mr. Gokhale and others have stated in the past, that the British have been increasing the military expenditure

in India year by year only with the object of raising Britian in the powerful on the Asiatic soil. The second reason adduced in the Bureau Pamphlet is that a bigger and better equipped army is required to protect the country from internal trouble. This argument does not hold water even for a single moment. .. .. .. Even granting for the sake of argument that the Muhammadans are desirous of getting back their lost power, it is but an idle dream to expect that they can succeed in their ambition since they are not backed up by any powerful Muslim State to enable them to face the mighty European nations. Besides what can they do, brought up as they are under a regime of peace and quiet for the last 150 years and devoid of any experience in handling modern arms? .. .. .. The Hindus, again, having been bound hand and foot by the chains of servitude for a long time, and are not in a position to break asunder these bonds all at once. If it be thought that all the conflicting communities of India are desirous of ~~dixi~~ driving out the British bag and baggage from this land, such a step could have easily been accomplished during the time of the late war when India had been depleted of the whole of her army which has been sent out of the country for fighting the enemy. But the Indians, during those trying times ~~of the late war when India had been depleted the whole of her army which had been sent out of the country for fighting the enemy. But the Indians, during those trying times~~ sacrificed their all for the protection of the Empire and remained loyal. Can it be deemed possible that loyal people such as these would ever try to drive out the victorious British after the war is over? Is it not the British statesmen themselves that have been instrumental in enraging the Indians by their actions? There would have been no non-co-operation at all if these statesmen had not acted in the manner they did. Both the rulers and the ruled could have lived in an atmosphere of mutual confidence, if only the former had taken the initiative in this matter. Instead, the Government have thought fit to resort to a high-handed policy and to terrify

those that oppose this policy by increasing the military. This step is unjust, nor is it likely to keep peace in the country for long. If, instead of wasting money on all sorts of armaments, the Government had condescended to take all the 320 Millions of people into their ~~doonfidence~~ confidence, no nation in the world would dare to step on the shores of this country. But it is a most difficult ta/ksk for any one to am make the British people appreciate this piece of advice.

The bureaucracy and non-co-operation.

66. Remarking that befoxexax th/ere are valid and substantial reasons for the several patriots in India to break the laws of the land and willingly go to jails, and that people are not blindly following their advice, the KANTHIRAVA, of the 17th May in a short note writes:- It is better that the bureaucracy soon understand the secret of all this and make peace with these people. As a matter of fact, sedition can neither raise its head nor grow in extent without strong grounds. It is the ain duty of the bureaucracy to find out the root cause of this and nip it in the bud. Though it may be possible to fox either for the agitators or for the bureaucracy to turn the minds of a few people for some time, it is next to impossible for either of them to continue to do so for all times.

Lord Reading and the Martial Law prisoners in the Punjab.

67. Expressing satisfaction at the news that His Excellency Lord Reading has called for records concerning the Martial Law prisoners in the Punjab, and emphasising the fact that those records are incomplete and unsatisfactory and from but a stumbling block in the way of a dispassionate and just handling of the case, the KANDHIRAVA of the 17th May, in a short note, observes:- The judges who administered Martial Law were strangers to equity, law and procedure and werebesides politically biassed. The evidence

they relied u on was onesided and teemed with high improbabilities. If the Viceroy wishes to deal with this matter in a just and impartial manner, it is necessary for him to patiently peruse the Congress Committee's report together with the mass of evidence which it has gathered. A perusal of this report will make it clear that the Police had concocted all the evidence simply with an eye to ruin may an innocent man. We, therefore, trust that the viceroy will use all his legal acumen to cement the ties of friendship between the Indians and the Englishmen by hearing both sides aned giving an impartial decision.

R.A. 70. A detailed report of the Ottapalam Conference in the VEERAKERALAM, of the 4th May, contains the following remarks:-

The Ottapalam fracas.

To be brief the police have, without rhyme or reason, severely handled every Hindu and Muhammadan they met with . Only a Superintendent of Police was at the place when this fracas began and left it immediately after.i In any case the Assistant Superintendent of Police was at the place watching all these events.

The MUSLIM, of the 4th May, also suggests that the disturbance was preremediated.

While deploring the barbarities committed by the Reserve police at Ottapalam, the PAURAN, of the 14th May, rejoices att he the calmness exhibited by the Congress leaders and the people, in spite of the atrocities, and observes that the incidents proves that the leaders have the power to lead and control the people. It further remarks that if this is the way that the Government control the Reserve Police deputed for preserving peace, it is indeed disgraceful to the Government and calamitious to the country

In a leading article under the heading 'Police Vagaries& the MALAYALI, of the 14th May, Characterises the atrocities of the Police as surpassing those committed by the Germans in Belgium,

and expresses surprise at the studied silence maintained by the Government in the matter. The paper points out that such a state of affairs reminds one of the chaos prevailing in Ireland, and that the police madness at Ottapalam is an instance in point to show that non-violent non-co-operation is succeeding, while a wicked Government is crumbling down. It thinks that wherever repression is resorted to, the efforts of the non-co-operators are doubled, and observes that from the conclusions of the non-official enquiry committee it will be seen that the riot at Ottapalam was created by the police. The articles says among other things that the wicked lord of the district and the Rakshasa Police were jealous of the august gatherings at Ottapalam, that the former, after receiving a temporary check from the Madras Government, was waiting for an opportunity to satisfy his ambition to re-enact tehe parts and win for himself the notoriety of a Dyer or O'Dwyer. If the people that were gathered together at Ottapalam only begin to manifest their ire it is certain that Mr. Hitchcock and his followers would not have survived to re-enact the drama in any other place.

While admitting that the non-official committee of of enquiry has revealed to the public the real nature of the events at Ottapalam, the MALAYALA MANORAMA, of the 17th May tries to refute the contention that it was caused at the instigation of the higher authorities. The paper thinks that it must have been committed by the police, of their own accord, but that no remedy for it has yet been devised because the non-co-operators have not approached the Government for that purpose. The paper also congratulates the people on the peace preserved by them in spite of those events and advises the Police authorities to control their illiterate subordinates so that they may not sustain the fair name of the people and of the Government.

Two reports published in the SUPRABHATAM, of the 27th April conclude with a criticism of the Government that keeps on a police force which does not hesitate to lay hands on the

the innocent and police officers who instigate persecution of the poor, and ask how any man of conscience or any self-respecting Indian can possibly co-operate with such a Government?

The MANORAMA, of the 29th April, publishes extracts from the speeches of Messrs. K.P.Kesava Menon, P. Kunhinni Achan and others in support of the non-co-operation resolution at the Ottapalam conference in which the following among others remarks occur:-

K.P. KESAVAMENON:- We cannot be slaves any longer. In foreing countries we are considered as mere slaves. .. .. How can 32 crores of Indians be willing to be the slaves of a lakh of Englishmen? That can never be. .. .. If all the various castes and creeds in India act jointly, the present kind of British Government in India will be shattered to pieces. .. ..

P. KUNHUNNI ACHAN:-- But the result of the British administration of India is a complete draining off of all her wealth. What is the meaning of western civilization? Famine, discontent and loss of self-respect. .. .. Why should we depend on a foreign people for our salvation? Is it not disgraceful? We cannot but have SWARAJ. But what have we obtained as a result of our prayers? The Rowlatt Act, the Seditious Meetings Act and other repressive laws. Why was section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code used against the law-abiding people of Malabar? Let them use it against themselves. The rulers may consider that their own position is not secure. Our own salvation consists in non-co-operation with the Government.

In the course of a leading article under the heading 'Enhanced salaries and retrenchment' the MANORAMA, of the 6th May, points out that the idea of dispensing with the services of several men e.g., of 7,000 in the Police Department will entail very great hardship to the men and their families.

On the same subject the KERALA SANCHARI, of the 11th May, writes in a strain similar to that of article No.60 reported on page 530 of Report No.18 of 1921.

71. The VEERAKERALAN, of the 4th May, speaks in deprecating terms of the wicked efforts of the Government officials and their satellites to arrest the movement set on foot by the heroic sons of India in the cause of their country's progress, and observes that mother India will indeed have to shed tears of blood at the efforts of even the so-called respectable Indians who make use of falsehood and false arguments to defeat their adversaries.

Anti-non-co-operation.

73. Referring to the interview between Lord Reading and Mr. Gandhi, the MALAYALA MANORAMA, of the 19th May, says:- To restore peace in India is the most important of Lord Reading's objects. As his Lordship decided, instead of using force against the non-co-operators that oppose the Government, to consult them on the way of securing peace, it is hoped that these opponents will act with equal magnanimity and tus help to restore peace and tranquility in the country.

The Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi.

The QAUMI REPORT, of the 16th May, in reply to the remark made by Mr. Whyte, the speaker of the Legislative Council in his letter published in the OBSERVER that the spirit of non-co-operation is weak among Indian intellects, observes that Mr. Whyte may be excused for his mistake because he is new to India. But the fact is that non-co-operation is now prevailing among educated Indians with greater force. If Mr. Whyte will but observe the prisons he will find in them many graduates. On the other hand, if he will look at the councils he will find some barbers, weetmeat sellers and cartmen!

Referring to Mr. Whyte's suggestion that this is the opportune moment to bring about an agreement between Mr. Gandhi and Lord Reading, the writer observes that the world is already aware that the success and victory of non-co-operation has compelled the Government to make an agreement with Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Whyte's

suggestion has torn the mask from the Government's attentions.

The writer finally expresses surprise that Mr. Gandhi in ill-wisher, dupe, tyrant, robber and rebel, instead of being tried as a criminal, is received as the Viceroy's guest at Viceregal Lodge and remarks that from this it can only be inferred that the real Government authorities are wise and well-intentioned and that all the differences that exist in the country have been caused by their officials. We feel sure that Lord Reading must have suggested an understanding to Mr. Gandhi the fruit of which the country will very soon reap.

76. Repression in Malabar.

Referring to the arrest by the Police under articles 448 and 506 of Indian Penal Code of a Brahman youth, Narayana Maller, with a Gandhi Cap at Tellicherry, and to the sentence of Rs.30 by the Sub-Magistrate, the MUSLIM, of the 4th May says In any case we have seen the relation between the Gandhi cap and sections 458 and 506 of the Indian Penal code. We should patiently wait and see what other sections of the Code this cap will enter. This excellent non-co-operators refused to pay the fine and has gone to jail. This herioc action of this excellent youth has created a great awakening in Tellicherry and the adjoining parts in the matter of non-co-operation.

77. Rewards for traitors.

Commenting on the rewards granted by Government to the Police oficers at Calicut who who arrested Mr. Yakub Hasan and others, the Yogakshemam, of the 13th May, observes that it is really a pity that there are people amongst the Indians themselves who are prepared to beat their mother if they are asked to do so and to receive any rewards offered for it.

HES. Cirerd.

78. The HILAL, of the 1st May, publishes a translation of the speeches recently delivered by Muhammad Ali in Madras in the course of which he said that If Lord Reading or Sir William Vincent or any other member of the Civil Service intendd to imprison or execute them, then he would assure them that by so doing they would only accelerate the end of British Rule.

Our imprisonment means the destruction of Government.

Nes

79. The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, of the 13th May, opines that from its point of view the Government order allowing Government servants to check the activities of the non-co-operators was u necessary because of the weakness of the propaganda. The writer deals at length with the endeavours that are being made by non-co-operators to mislead people by circulating false rumours with regard to the Government's object in issuing s ch an order, and remarks that while the secret of the ignorance of non-co-operators is getting out, and they have no fixed policy, there is no necessity to break up their union by any organised method. Their mode of action itself shows that they say one thing and do another.

The agitation of the non-co-operators.

~~81. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 14th May referring to those who take no part in the Khilafat movements, say~~

~~Those who stand aloof from the command of the Sacred Law.~~

Khil

81. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 15th May explains to the community on the authority of the tradition exert yourselves against the polytheists with reference to themselves, their property and their languages, conditions of Jehad can be fulfilled also by boycotting English goods and Government Grants and advises the Muslim public to do so.

The Secret of Jahad.

MAHATMA GANDHI AND THE VICEROY,.

6 The Writer refuting to Mr. Gandhi's interview with the Viceroy, observes that whether anything took place at the interview or not it is the duty of Lord Reading to thoroughly understand the present situation, and not to be guided merely by the Ministers and advisers of his Government. Those who have already tyrannised our Indians in Lord Chelmsford's time cannot be expected to be their well-wishes now.

82. The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, of the 16th May, discusses at length, the failure of the non-co-operators especially in the boycotting of education and refers to the wise procedure of certain non-co-operators, who quite separately, from the Khilafat Committee, have established a new committee with the object of collecting money to help the oppressed Muslims of Smyrna and have openly announced that since most people are against non-co-operation, they cannot hand over the funds collected for the oppressed Muslims of Smyrna to the Khilafat Committee.

Agreement with the supporters of Co-operation.

83. The HIMAYET, of the 14th May, pointing out the several evils of applying to the law courts for justice, remarks that it is more essential and advantageous to boycott the courts and establish panchayats than to give up titles and to boycott the Councils and education.

The peace of non-co-operation.

The writer then observes with regret that while in Northern India the establishment of Panchayat is progressive, Madras cannot boast of a single one. He suggests to the Khilafat Committee to induce litigants to refer their cases to the qazis for settlement.

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